BEVERLEY MINSTER

BY CHARLES HIATT

WITH PLANS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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BEVERLEY MINSTER

From a Photograph by Wilfrid Groom.]

BEVERLEY MINSTER, FROM THE SOUTH.

Bell's Cathedral Series

BEVERLEY MINSTER

AN ILLUSTRATED ACCOUNT OF ITS HISTORY AND FABRIC

BY

CHARLES HIATT

AUTHOR OF

"CHESTER: THE CATHEDRAL AND SEE," ETC.

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PREFACE

It is unnecessary to enumerate here the various books and transactions of antiquarian societies which have been consulted in the writing of this little volume. Much material has, of course, been derived from Poulson's *Beverlac*, a carefully revised edition of which would be very welcome to all students of the antiquities of the East Riding. The present writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to the learned papers of Mr John Bilson, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., and Mr A. F. Leach, F.S.A., who, though personally unknown to him, have been so good as to give him considerable help. He wishes also sincerely to thank Canon Nolloth for enabling him to examine the minster itself, and for much valuable information most courteously given. To Mr Wilfrid Groom, who at considerable personal inconvenience has taken most of the photographs from which the accompanying illustrations have been made, he desires to express his deep gratitude.

C. H.

London, 1898.

CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER I.—Some Account of the History of Beverley and of the Building of its Minster 3

CHAPTER II.—The Minster—The Exterior 38

The Principal Dimensions 40

The West Front and Towers 40

The Bells 49

The Central Tower 51

The Nave, North Side 52

The Great Transepts 56

The Choir, East Transepts, and East End 60

The Minster Yard 64

CHAPTER III.—The Minster—Interior 68

The Choir 73

The Choir Screen and Stalls 81

The Altar Screen 89

The Percy Tomb 93

The Eastern Transepts 98

The Frith-Stool 101

The Early English Staircase 105

The Great Transept 105

Monuments in the Great Transept 107

The Nave 108

The West Window 112

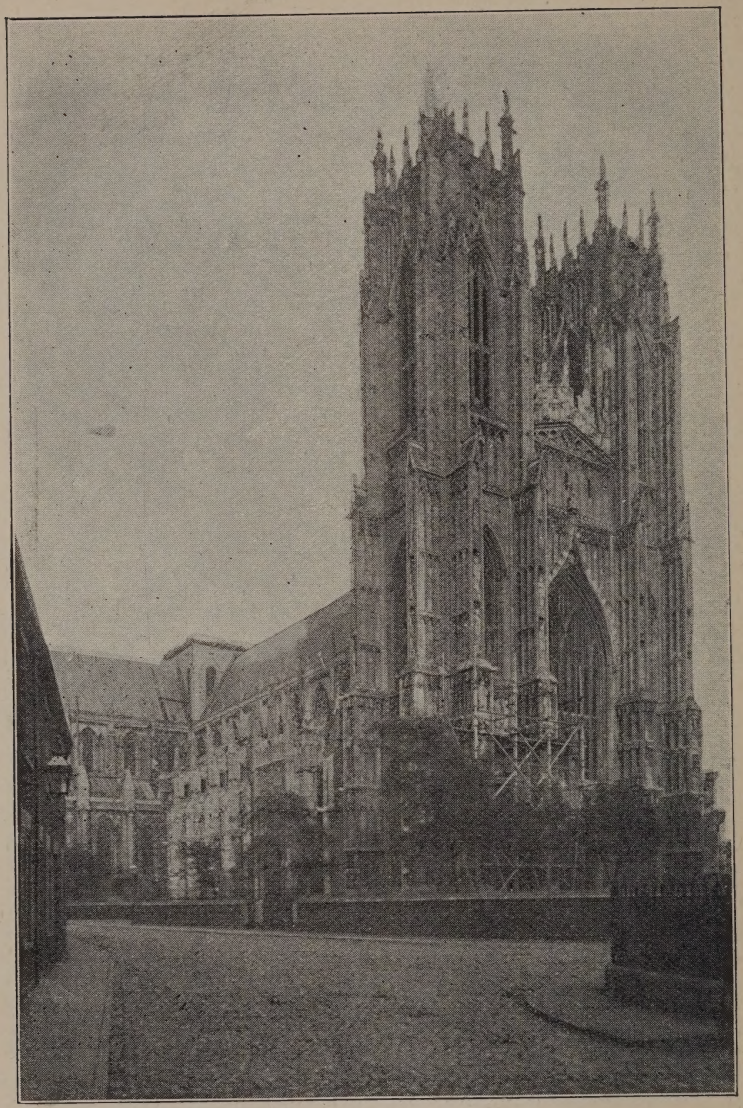
Monuments in the Nave 114

The Font 116

CHAPTER IV.—A Note on the Church of S. Mary . . . 117

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Beverley Minster, from the South	*Frontispiece*
Arms of the Monastery	*Title*
The Minster, from the North-West	2
The Minster, from the South	7
The West Front	13
The Minster in the Eighteenth Century	21
The North Front of the Great Transept, with Thornton's Screen	35
The West Doorway	42
Detail of the West Doorway	43
Small Doorway in the West Front	45
Remains under the South-West Tower	47
Buttresses of the North-West Tower	49
The North Porch	53
The South Front of the Great Transept	57
South Doorway of the Great Transept	59
The East Window	61
The Nave, South Side	64
The Nave and Great Transept, South Side	65
The Interior, looking East	69
The Choir, looking East	73
The Triforium and Clerestory	75
The Altar Screen	79
The Altar Screen, East Side	83
The Percy Tomb	87, 91
Details of the Percy Tomb	95, 97, 99
Remains in the Roof	100
Staircase in the North Choir Aisle	103
Bay of South Transept	106
Details of a Monument in the Great Transept	107
Window in the North Aisle	109
Window in the South Aisle	109
Various Capitals	110, 111
North-West Corner of the Nave	113
Arcading in the North Aisle of the Nave	115
The Font	116
Beverley, with S. Mary's Church	119
S. Mary's Church, Beverley	123
The South Porch, S. Mary's	125
Tablet on South Wall of Choir, S. Mary's	126
The Minstrels' Pillar, S. Mary's	129
The Interior, S. Mary's	130
The North Side of the Choir, S. Mary's	133
PLAN OF BEVERLEY MINSTER	136



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THE MINSTER, FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

BEVERLEY MINSTER

CHAPTER I

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY OF BEVERLEY AND OF THE BUILDING OF ITS MINSTER

In a short work devoted almost entirely to Beverley Minster, it would obviously be out of place to deal at length with the town of which that church is the magnificent ornament. And yet, so intimately is the history of the minster bound up with that of the place, that a brief account of the latter can hardly be deemed inappropriate to these pages. The origin of Beverley is lost in the mists of high antiquity: we may make reasonable conjectures as to the beginning of the place, but we cannot ascertain it with accuracy. Even the derivation of its name has been the subject of much wearisome controversy, and still it is not authoritatively settled. According to one writer, Beverley is merely a corruption of *Pedwarllech*, a British camp which developed into the Roman station of *Petuaria*. It is in the highest degree improbable that Petuaria and Beverley are identical, although Camden gives some support to this view; indeed, it may be doubted whether the Romans had a station here at all, though some Roman remains have been discovered in the neighbourhood. Without further troubling ourselves with fantastic attempts to elucidate the etymology of the word, we may rest content with the very probable explanation that the name Beverley, which is variously called *Beverlega* and *Beverlac*, refers to the colonies of beavers which at some time found a home on the Hull River, a stream passing close to Beverley, which joins the waters of the Humber at the principal seaport of Yorkshire. At what date, and by whom, a Christian church was first established at Beverley it is impossible to state. Until

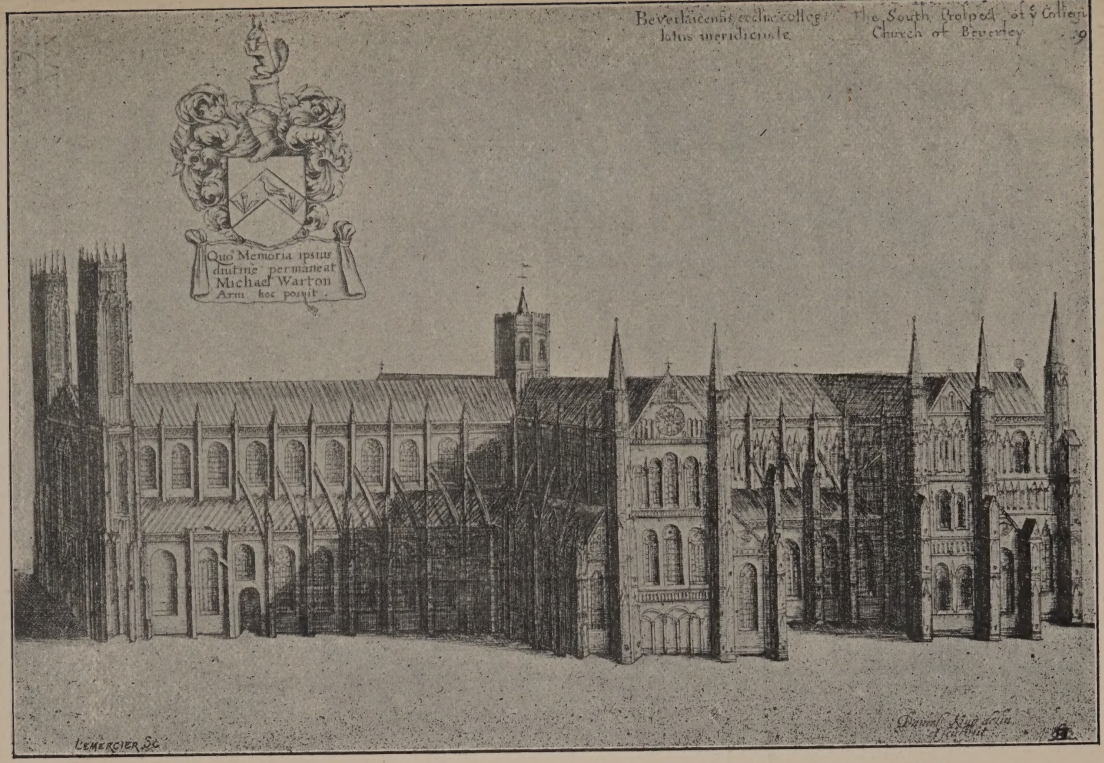
we come to the great and comparatively accurate record of Bede, who has done so much to lighten our darkness in so many matters connected with the early history of our race, we are quite without exact information. A legend, repeated, though apparently only half-credited, by the earliest of English historians, ascribes the church to a founder who was probably a legend himself. The story runs that Lucius, whom Speed describes as the first Christian king in the world, was converted from paganism and anointed by Pope Eleutherius in the second century. Of this monarch we have absolutely no mention whatsoever until centuries after the date of his alleged death, and the story of his connection with Rome appears for the first time in the *Catalogus Pontificium Romanorum*, about the year 1530. The details given by Geoffrey of Monmouth concerning Lucius may be dismissed as absolutely fictitious.

That Christianity took root at Beverley at a very early date is evident from the fact that when John, Bishop of York, who was afterwards known as S. John of Beverley, visited the place in the early years of the eighth century, he found already established there a church, dedicated, it is said, to S. John the Evangelist. John of Beverley is unquestionably one of the most picturesque and important figures in the early ecclesiastical history of this country. The date of his birth we do not know; but he is said to have been of noble blood. Some confusion exists as to his birthplace, but according to the writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* he was born at Harpham, a village in the East Riding, situated about a mile and a half north of Lowthorpe station, on the railway line between Hull and Bridlington. It is worth noting that a well in this place has for ages been known as S. John's Well, doubtless in memory of the saint of Beverley. On the other hand, there is some ground for supposing the birthplace of S. John to have been Cherry Burton, another village close to Beverley, of which Edward Bonner, successively Bishop of Hereford and London, who died in the Marchelsea in 1596, was for some time vicar. The parents of John of Beverley seem to have been Christians, for, at an early age, they sent their son to the famous school at Canterbury, which was presided over by Archbishop Theodore, called the Philosopher, and taught by the African Hadrian. The education given

here was, taking the date into consideration, remarkably liberal. Not merely was the theological side strongly in evidence, as might be expected, but such subjects as mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and music engaged the attention of the scholars. On leaving Canterbury, tradition sends John of Beverley to the University of Oxford, where he is supposed duly to have graduated. As the university was not even thought of for more than a century after S. John's death, tradition in this case is more than usually mendacious. As a matter of fact, S. John of Beverley became a pupil of the renowned S. Hilda at Stronshalch or Streoneshalch, the grey ruins of whose monastery still look down on the red roofs of the town known to us as Whitby. Subsequently to this, S. John appears to have retired to a hermitage at Harmeshow, on the river Tyne, from which he was called, in the year 687, to be Bishop of Hexham, "the goodliest of Transalpine churches," a position he filled for nineteen years. Of S. John's episcopate, Bede, to employ the words of the late Precentor Venables of Lincoln, "presents the picture of unobtrusive holiness, rich in good works, intent on the duties of his station, and, at the same time, full of kindly sympathy and consideration for others under his charge, and drawing their affections to him. Like his former masters, Theodore and Hadrian, John was always surrounded with a little band of scholars whom he was training by example and precept for evangelistic work." In the days in which John of Beverley lived, it was almost certain that to a priest at once pious and learned miraculous power should sooner or later be ascribed. The story of the numerous miracles credited to S. John casts a vivid and curious light on the dim and distant times which he adorned. To the modern sceptic whose mind is of scientific mould, the account of S. John's amazing cures sounds a trifle absurd, but to the best intellects of that day, to Bede, and probably to the saint himself, these cures were very grave realities. Almost all his miracles seem to have had a definite and benevolent object, and it is probable that most of them are capable of rational explanation. Thus we find him healing a dumb man by teaching him gradually to articulate simple sounds such as A and B—"Say A; and he said A. Say B; and he said B." On another occasion, he visits the nunnery of Watton (or Walton), and

prays over, and cures, a sick nun. Again, there is the strange story of Earl Puch's wife. John of Beverley came to the earl's estate in order to consecrate a church which that noble had built. After protesting much that his duties immediately called him elsewhere, he was at length prevailed upon to accept the earl's hospitality. Finding that his host's wife had long been ill, and was apparently incurable, S. John at once sent her some of the holy water which had been used in the consecration service just concluded, and requested her to drink it and to apply it as a lotion to the part of her body in which pain was felt. The result was an instantaneous cure—so complete that the lady was able to leave her bed and attend to the wants of the miracle-worker while he was at dinner. There does not seem to be the slightest reason to doubt that S. John combined with genuine religious fervour and large benevolence, geniality, tolerance, and not a few other amiable qualities, while from the standpoint of intellect, he was very far in advance of his time. Under these circumstances, it is not wonderful that he became an "object of greater reverence than any Northern saint, save Cuthbert." He seems to have possessed in a marked degree that personal magnetism which attracts and retains the affections of others. Bede never mentions him without dilating on his lofty qualities and shining virtues. In the life of Bede, S. John played an important part, although he was not, as some writers suggest, the venerable historian's principal teacher. It was to Benedict Biscop, founder of the abbey of Wearmouth, in the territory of which Bede was probably born, that the monk of Jarrow owed the greater part of his education. But it was from the hands of John of Beverley that Bede received deacon's orders somewhere about 691-2, and priest's orders about 702-3, and doubtless the two were frequently brought into contact. Bede's authority, however, for most of his facts concerning S. John was Berethum (or Beorthum), for whom S. John possessed a very deep affection, and with whom he was for many years closely connected.

Conscientious and energetic prelate as he was, John made frequent ecclesiastical progresses through Yorkshire, and did what in him lay to develop the parochial system, which was then in its infancy. As we have already seen, when on one of these journeys he chanced on Beverley, which was at that


Beverlacensis ecclie colleg latus meridionale
The South Prospect of ye Colleg Church of Beverley
Quo Memoria ipsius diutius permaneat Michael Warton Arm hoc posuit
LEMERCIER Sc.
Daniel King fecit

THE MINSTER, FROM THE SOUTH.

[From an old Engraving, by Daniel King.

time called *Indrawood* or *In Derawuda* (*In silva Deirorum*), a place of morass and swamp, interspersed with lush meadows, and surrounded by the immense and silent forest of Deira. This lonely spot seems to have appealed vividly to the imagination of the bishop as a place meet for short intervals of solitude, and fit, at last, for permanent retirement. At all events, he proceeded to purchase it, and, finding a little church already established there, set about enlarging it without delay, founding at the same time a double, or twin monastery for monks and nuns.* It is probable that the monks occupied the newly enlarged church and its appurtenances, on the south side of which S. John is said to have erected a separate oratory for the nuns, which was dedicated to S. Martin. Double monasteries in the north of England were, at the time of the foundation of Beverley, the rule rather than the exception; we have already noticed the memorable example at Whitby, where Hilda ruled, in the capacity of Superior, over monks and nuns alike. John of Beverley endowed his new foundation with no niggard hand, and his personal popularity and example induced gifts from some of the richer laity of the neighbourhood, amongst whom we find Earl Puch, whose wife S. John healed, and Addi, Earl of North (Cherry) Burton.

Of the monastery thus founded and endowed, Berethum is said to have become first abbot, about the year 700. Concerning this ecclesiastic, our information is very scanty, but he appears to have been a person of certain importance in his day, and to have been held in considerable popular reverence, for, although no formal record of his canonisation is known to exist, he is frequently referred to by early writers as a saint. Berethum had been established some five years at Beverley when John was translated from the see of Hexham to that of the royal city of York. The first bishop of York was Paulinus, one of the missionaries who came to reinforce Augustine in 601, and it was through his instrumentality that Edwin of Northumbria was converted to Christianity. He

* The foundation of this monastery by S. John has been doubted by some very capable authorities. I have given above the most probable of the traditional versions, but up to the time of Æthelstan, the history of the minster can only be vaguely conjectured, and very little can be stated with certainty.

was consecrated in 625, and was succeeded by Chad or Ceadda in 664. Wilfrid followed Chad in 669, and a period of ecclesiastical confusion, during which the bishop was deposed and restored, set in. At length, Wilfrid's place was taken by Bosa in 678. On the death of this prelate, in 705 (or 706?), John of Beverley was appointed to the see.* He filled his onerous place with much ability during a time of stress and storm, until, in 718, he decided to quit public life and resign his see. He naturally went to Beverley, where he was warmly and tenderly welcomed by Abbot Berethum. The years which he spent there were doubtless quiet times of peace, to which the ardent and strenuous old bishop was fully entitled after his long life of unceasing toil. He died in the monastery at Beverley, in the month of May 721, and by his death the Early English Church lost one of its most illustrious and gracious figures. How, being dead, his name and fame were more powerful than at any time during his life, we shall see as this narrative proceeds. John was buried in the church, in S. Peter's apse or aisle (*in porticu Sancti Petri*). From the north, his reputation spread rapidly throughout the length and breadth of England. Innumerable miraculous stories clustered round "li bons Johans . . . celui ki gist a Beverli." Alone among the northern English saints of his day did S. Cuthbert of Durham receive an equal tribute of veneration. S. John of Beverley became one of the popular heroes of militant Christianity:

> "Come ye from the east, or come ye from the west,
> Or bring relics from over the sea.
> Or come ye from the shrine of S. James the divine,
> Or John of Beverley?"

In 1037, John of Beverley was canonised by Pope Benedict XI., and in the same year Archbishop Ælfric translated his relics and placed them in a magnificent shrine of precious metal, richly jewelled, which has long since disappeared. In 1197, a second translation took place. The remains were discovered in 1664,* and were re-interred. They were brought to light once more in 1736. It may be noted in passing that Bale ascribes to S. John of Beverley the authorship of an

* Bishop Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, Oxford, 1858.
† *The Dictionary of National Biography* gives the date as 1604.

exposition of S. Luke, homilies and epistles. The ascription is probably no more than mere conjecture.

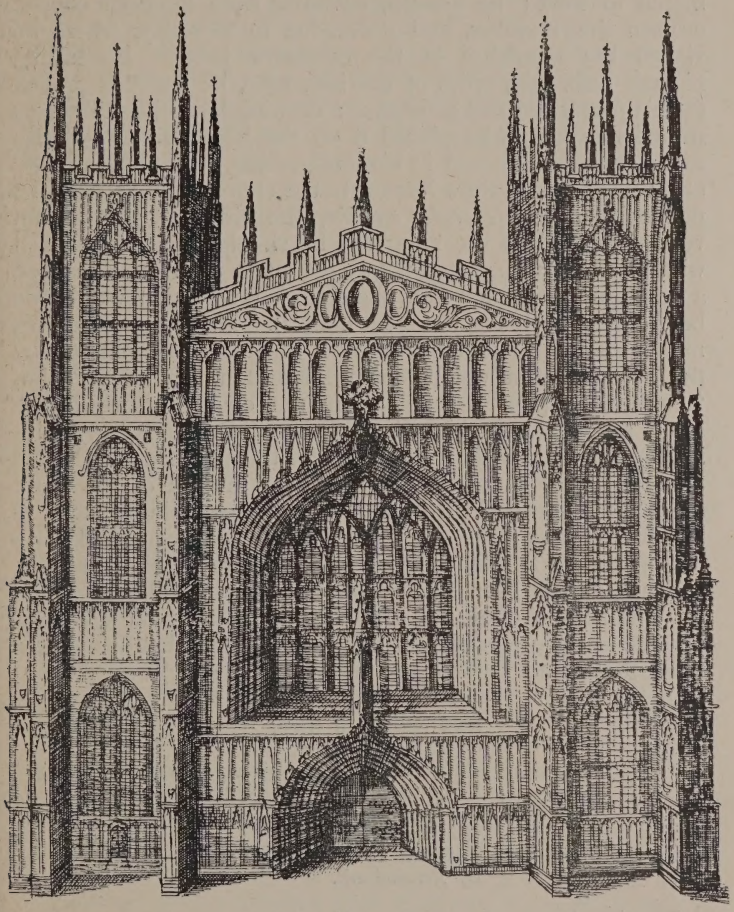
Berethum is supposed to have continued as Abbot of Beverley until his death, in 733, when he was buried near to his friend, the founder, in the Abbey Church. We know nothing of the affairs of the monastery in the days which followed Berethum's death, but the names of two of the abbots, Winwaldus and Wulfeth, who are said to have died in the years 751 and 773 respectively, are nevertheless preserved. Concerning these years tradition itself is silent, so that even the narrow and difficult path which lies between history and fable is not open to us. Nor does any vestige of the original monastery remain to indicate the manner or material of the buildings of S. John, but, looking to the date of their erection, they were very likely of the most primitive kind, and were built of wood. It must be borne in mind that in these days Northumbria was in the wildest state of anarchy. "King after king," says Mr J. R. Green, in his larger history of England, "was swept away by treason and revolt; the country fell into the hands of its turbulent nobles, its very fields lay waste, and the land was scourged by famine and plague." In addition to this, there was the terrible and victorious invasion of the Danes, whose fury of destruction was, to use the quaint phrase of the author of "Beverlac,"* "too uniform and disgusting to be detailed." According to this writer, the buildings which John had erected were completely destroyed in 866, while all the monastic books and records and ornaments were burnt or otherwise made away with. The fate of so small a foundation was scarcely noticed by the chroniclers of an age in which, one after another, the most august monasteries—Crowland, Ely, Peterborough, and the like—went up in flames, and became centres of hideous carnage. For three years or more no effort was made to repair the havoc which had almost annihilated the little community at Beverley, but, about the year 870, the dispersed monks and nuns timidly ventured back to the scene of their former tranquil lives, and attempted to

* *Beverlac: or the Antiquities and History of the Town of Beverley*, by George Poulson. London, 1829. This work, which is in two volumes, and contains some illustrations, is the most important publication dealing with Beverley and its minster, and is frequently referred to in the following pages.

bring something like order into the chaos by which they were surrounded. Of the shrine and tomb of S. John, or of what was left of them, we may be sure they took special and reverent care—believing as they did in the saint's almost unlimited power of intercession, they approached his relics with intense veneration, and guarded them, to the best of their ability, alike from desecration and destruction. There is something pathetic in the fidelity of these unfortunate people, returning at all hazards to the fulfilment of their vows under the imminent hand of peril, even of death. For death was stalking abroad in the land: the face of England was red with massacre. The very fact that a thing had been held specially sacred added rage to the mercilessness with which it was attacked. But the days of agonies and overthrowings drew at length to a close, and fickle fortune undulated once more to the church of S. John.

If S. John is the central and dominant personage in the early history of Beverley Minster, next to him in importance is, undoubtedly, Æthelstan. Whether we read of this prince in the picturesque but untrustworthy pages of Florence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, or Simeon of Durham, or in the modern and more accurate volumes of Lappenberg, Palgrave, or Bishop Stubbs, we can hardly fail to be impressed by the commanding place which he held in the politics of his time. At first king of the West Saxons and Mercians, afterwards king of all the English, Æthelstan played such a part in European history as none of his predecessors had dreamt of. His vigorous home administrations, his success in warfare, his energy in cultivating closer relations with foreign peoples, and in advancing the prestige of England in the councils of the Continent, fully entitle him to the description of "Glorious Æthelstan." It was on his northward march to oppose a formidable alliance of Scots, Cumbrians, Danes, and Northmen, that he visited Beverley. Of the many accounts of his visit, the following, which is probably as accurate as any, may be quoted:—"On his route near Lincoln, Æthelstan met with a company of pilgrims, singing and rejoicing, who, upon the king's enquiry, stated they came from Beverley, where, by the merits and intercession of the glorious confessor John, the blind, the lame, the deaf, and other infirm persons were restored to health. When the

king received this intelligence, he held a council with his followers, telling them he considered he ought to address



THE WEST FRONT.
[From an old Engraving by Daniel King.

himself to a patron who was held in such veneration, and who, by God's assistance, performed such wonderful works, that he

might aid him in his present undertaking. Directing his army therefore to the westward, he ordered them to pursue their march to York; he himself, deviating from the same course, crossed the Humber, and proceeded to Beverley, where he visited the sepulchre of the confessor John. Prostrating himself before the relics of the holy man, he devoutly prayed for his protection and assistance; drawing his knife (*cultellum*) from its scabbard, he placed it on the high altar as a pledge that should he succeed in his undertaking, and return alive to claim it, he would show honour to the church and increase its possessions. The *custodes ecclesiæ*, who witnessed this solemn vow, suggested to the king that he should take some token with him of having visited the sacred spot; therefore he caused a standard to be taken from the church (and which was borne before him in his subsequent battles). He then pursued his march to York to join his army." The story is continued by the account of a vision which Æthelstan had of S. John, "clothed in pontifical habit," in the course of which the saint addressed to him the words: "Pass fearlessly with your army, for you shall conquer; for this purpose am I come to speak with you." With or without the aid of the saint, Æthelstan gained, in the year 937, the crowning victory of his life, at Brunanburh, the exact situation of which is unknown to us, though it was, doubtless, somewhere in Northumbria. and not, as has been suggested, in Scotland or Lincolnshire. So enthusiastic does the writer of the old Saxon chronicle become in the celebration of this great triumph that he disdains mere prose, and tells of the struggle in a song, which opens with the lines:

Now Æthelstan King,
Of Earls, the Lord,
To warriors the ring-giver
Edmund Ætheling,
Eld-long * glory
Won in the fight
With the sword's edge
By Brunanburh.

In the hour of success Æthelstan was by no means unmindful of his promise to Beverley, for, immediately after his victory, he proceeded to redeem his pledge on a

* Life-long.

scale of great liberality. The exact nature of the privileges which he conferred on the place is a matter of dispute. A rhymed version of what is alleged to have been the original charter still exists, but it is not of earlier date than the beginning of the fourteenth century. The most important grant to the abbey was, undoubtedly, the right of sanctuary, which is dealt with in another part of this book. The other gifts and privileges include the lordship of Beverley, certain lands situate in the neighbourhood, tolls, royalties, and thraves of corn, the right to hold inquests, and the power of issuing writs and punishing crime. The spirit of the charter may be judged from one of its couplets:

Swa mickle freedom give i ye,
Swa bert may think or eghe see.

That Æthelstan was a generous ecclesiastical benefactor is evident from the fact that he founded a church at Middleton, now called Milton, in Dorset, and extensively endowed the Abbey of Malmesbury, in the church of which he was buried in 940. He appears to have "ordained the Church of Beverley collegiate, appointing the seven presbyters for the future should be canons secular, and that they should wear the canonical habit; also to the seven clerks another convent dress, and appointed them to discharge the office of Levites." The foundation was modified and further endowed by Ælfric, who was consecrated Archbishop of York in 1020, and by Aldred, "the magnificent and courageous" prelate, who was elected to the royal see of the North on Christmas day, 1060. To Ælfric Beverley owed the installation of the offices of chancellor, sacristan, and precentor, and the translation of the body of S. John. He also commenced the erection of a dormitory, refectory, and other buildings, which were completed by Aldred. Edward the Confessor confirmed the privileges granted by Æthelstan, as is shown by the following:—"Edward the King greets friendly Tosti, the earl, and all my thanes in Yorkshire know ye, that it is my permission and full leave that Ealdred, the archbishop, do obtain *privilegium* for the lands belonging to S. John's minster at Beverley; and I will that that minster, and the district adjoining to it, be as free as any other minster is; and that whilst the bishop there remains it shall be under him

as lord, and that he shall be careful to guard and watch that no man but himself take anything; and he permit none to injure any of those things, the care whereof to him pertaineth, as he will be protected by God, and S. John, and all saints whose holy place is before consecrated. And I will that there for ever shall be monastic life and congregation as long as any man liveth."*

We now come to the central point in the history of England—the Norman Conquest. The extent and value of the property of the collegiate body at Beverley is of course set out at length in Domesday, and it would appear that William I., early in his reign, not merely confirmed the grants of the Confessor, but made further gifts to the minster. Perhaps the most terrible of all the Conqueror's works was the harrying, the havoc—for it was ruthless havóc and not mere plunder—of Northumbria. According to a curious tradition, Beverley was saved from the all-engulfing ruin by the interposition of John. "The king had pitched his camp seven miles from the town, when news was brought that the people of the whole neighbourhood had taken shelter, with all their precious things, in the inviolable sanctuary which was afforded by the frith-stool of the saint. On hearing this, some plunderers, seemingly without the royal orders, set forth to make a prey of the town, and of those who had sought shelter in it. They entered Beverley without meeting with any resistance, and made their way to the churchyard. The leader of the band, Toustain by name . . . marked out an old man in goodly apparel with a golden bracelet on his arm. This was doubtless the badge of his official rank, or the prize which Harold, or Siward, or some other bracelet-giver had bestowed as the reward of good service against Scot, or Briton, or Northman. The English fled within the walls of the minster. The sacrilegious Toustain, sword in hand, spurred his horse within the hallowed doors. But the vengeance of S. John of Beverley did not slumber. The horse fell with its neck broken, and Toustain himself, smitten in his own person, his arms and legs all twisted behind his back, seemed no longer a man, but a monster. His affrighted comrades laid aside all their schemes of plunder and slaughter, and humbly implored the mercy of the saint. They made their way to William, and told him of

* *Beverlac*, vol. i. p 42.

the wonder. The king had already shown himself a friend to the Church of S. John, and now, fearing the wrath of the saint, he summoned the chief members of the chapter before him, and again confirmed all their possessions by charters under the royal seal." * Looking to the superstitious nature of the age, and of even the most powerful and robust intellect of the age, it is by no means impossible that the district of which Beverley is the centre escaped the appalling horrors of the devastation of the north, by some such incident as is described above. Fearing nobody on earth, magnificent in the presence of physical danger, it may yet be that the Conqueror quailed at the consequences of provoking the wrath of a dead saint. It should, however, be said that we possess no authentic evidence that any part of Northumbria was exempt from the destructive fury of the Norman.

During the Conqueror's reign, the ecclesiastical constitution of Beverley appears to have been very similar to that of Southwell, and that of Ripon. The minster, like them, was one of the *matrices ecclesiæ* of the vast diocese of York. There does not seem to have been any formally appointed authority who presided over the chapter, as does the Dean of Westminster over the chapter of the Collegiate Church of S. Peter at the present time. In theory, the Archbishop of York was head of the church at Beverley, and when he was present, he no doubt presided over the capitular body. In the year 1092, a new office, called the *præpositus* or provost, was constituted by Archbishop Thomas, who ("with the consent and assent of all the canons of the church at Beverley, and others whom it concerned in that behalf, the King of England including"), appointed his nephew, also called Thomas, to the post, and assigned to him the temporal possession of the church. The provost was in no sense a spiritual authority; he was concerned solely with secular matters, and had no special stall assigned him in the choir or other part of the minster. Sometimes, however, he was canon as well as provost, and when this was the case, he occupied a stall, as a matter of course. The canons of Beverley had not, as was the general rule, separate prebendal estates from the names of which they took their ecclesiastical titles. They had one common

* Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest*, vol. i.

property which was administered by the provost, who paid them from its revenues; hence they took their titles, not from particular districts, but from the names of the saints to whom the altars in the minster were dedicated. The charter of Beverley was fully confirmed by William II., and, on the death of Thomas in 1101, Thurstan was appointed provost, being transferred in 1114 to the archiepiscopal see of York. To the burgesses of Beverley, which was an ecclesiastical town, pure and simple, Thurstan granted the same liberties as were held of immemorial right by the citizens of York, so that a Hanshus, or Guildhall, was established at the former place. Here we have a hint of the origin and development of the English municipal system. The all-powerful bishop begins to make concessions to the townspeople over whom he has ruled with almost absolute authority.

Let us turn aside for a moment from the history of the chapter at Beverley and consider the fabric itself. During the reigns of the Norman kings and their immediate successors, the country which surrounds Beverley was the scene of building operations on a magnificent scale. At York, which is only thirty-four miles away, we find Archbishop Roger adding a Norman nave to the existing choir and transept of the cathedral, and constructing the crypt, of which the pillars, enriched with incised zig-zag and diaper patterns, are still to be seen. At Goodmanham was erected the church in which the mythical baptism of Coifi was supposed to have taken place. The Norman and part of the Early English work at Hedon church—locally known as "the King of Holderness"—was being constructed, as was the grand abbey church of Selby, which does much to dignify a town of undistinguished streets. At Driffield we can trace the work of Norman builders in not a few of the details of the parish church, while the priory church of Maldon belongs for the most part to the transitional style between Norman and Early English. In fact, the whole of this part of Yorkshire is thickly dotted with eloquent and convincing proofs of the energy, the skill, and the artistry of the builders of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Of the early builders of Beverley Minster our information is vexatiously scanty. We have already noted the commencement of additions by Ælfric. Save the fact of this prelate's undertaking, we have absolutely no details

as to the structure of the church from the year 866 to the year 1050, when we find that Archbishop Cynesige added to the building a lofty stone tower, or campanile, in which he is believed to have hung two large bells. The name of this archbishop is also met with as the donor of bells to the minster of Southwell and the church at Stowe. About 1060, Aldred completed the extensions of Ælfric, and further enlarged Beverley Minster by the addition of a presbytery.* He also decorated the ceiling of the newly-erected presbytery as far as the tower built by Cynesige. The scheme of ornament was polychromatic, with much gilding, and must have been very gorgeous. In addition, Ælfric erected a magnificent *pulpitum* at the entrance to the choir, employing gold, silver, and brass for its adornment. The architectural style in which the additions of Aldred were made cannot be exactly ascertained. The rude variety of Romanesque, which we call Saxon, was, we know, strongly influenced about this time by the more elaborate and ambitious work of French builders. It is a matter of definite record that the Confessor rebuilt the Abbey of Westminster in a new style derived from Normandy. The architectural operations of Archbishop Aldred were conducted on a large scale, for they included the reconstruction of the monastic church of S. Peter at Gloucester, and it may well be that he was influenced in some degree in his work, both there and at Beverley, by the more ornate style newly introduced from the Continent. We unfortunately possess no documentary description of the work carried on at the minster during the reigns of the four Norman kings. Our only source of information is the fabric itself, and even this, to the casual observer, gives no hint of any style previous to Early English. But the masonry behind the triforium on either side of the nave tells a tale of its own, and proves, beyond all possibility of doubt, that this part of the church was almost entirely rebuilt in the early years of the twelfth century. What happened in the nave appears to some extent to have taken place in the south choir aisle and the adjoining transept. On the night following S. Matthew's Day, 1188, which was the last year of the momentous reign of Henry II., Beverley Minster was the

* Bilson, *Trans. of the Architec. and Archæolog. Soc. of Durham*, vol. iv. part 2.

victim of one of those disastrous fires to which we owe the destruction of innumerable precious examples of ancient architecture. A record of the fire was found in a somewhat curious place. On opening a grave in the church, in 1664, a square stone vault was discovered which measured 15 feet long by 2 feet broad at the head and 18 inches broad at the opposite end. This proved to be the resting-place of S. John. Within it was found a sheet of lead, containing ashes and six beads of a rosary, three large brass pins, and four iron nails. The leaden plate bore an inscription in Latin, of which the following is a sufficiently close translation :—

"In the year from the incarnation of Our Lord 1188, this church was burnt, in the month of September, the night after the feast of S. Matthew the apostle, and in the year 1197, the sixth of the ides of March, there was an inquisition made for the relics of the blessed John in this place, and these bones were found in the east part of his sepulchre, and reposited; and dust mixed with mortar was found likewise, and re-interred." In addition, there was a small box of lead wherein were fragments of bone mixed up with sweet-scented dust, as well as a knife (possibly the *cultellum* which Æthelstan left as a pledge), some beads and a seal. With the exception of the last (which is engraved in Gough's "History of Ripon"), the whole of the objects found were re-interred in the middle aisle of the nave. Although the flames played terrible havoc with the church, they did not entirely destroy it. The use made of the remains by builders of late date, it will be our business carefully to inquire in the proper place.

During this active period of building, destruction, and reconstruction, the history of the collegiate body of the minster was far from uneventful. Henry I. granted a charter to the church in the following terms :—"Henry, King of England, to all sheriffs and to all barons in Yorkshire greeting. I will and command that the land of S. John shall not be taxed if it did not pay tax in the time of King Edward and my father, but that it shall be quit, as the men of the county shall bear testimony thereof, and the customs and other liberties I grant to it as it had most beneficially in the time of King Edward and my father. Witness, R. Earl of Mell at Westminster." The power of the provost and chapter, confirmed as it was

THE MINSTER IN THE 18TH CENTURY, FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

[From an old Engraving

from time to time by succeeding monarchs, rapidly increased. Its decrees were enforced by the remorseless issue of orders of excommunication, "with bells ringing and candles lighted and extinguished," a process which struck terror into the hearts of even the boldest men of that time. When, in 1135, Stephen succeeded to the throne on the death of Henry I., he renewed the Beverley charter and extended its privileges. During the troubled reign of the last of the Normans, the ecclesiastical establishment at Beverley consisted of the provost, nine canons, nine canons' vicars, and seven clerks, called *berefellarii*, whose exact position is uncertain, but who possibly ranked above, rather than below, the canons' vicars. In addition to these, there were a chancellor, a precentor, and a sacrist. The provosts* succeeding Thomas and Thurstan were Thomas Norman, Robert de Gante, and after him, no less a personage than Thomas Becket, who, in addition to his secular appointment, was also prebendary of S. Michael in the minster. That the fame of S. John, and the reverence in which he was held, had in no wise diminished with time is proved by the fact that his was one of the sacred banners which hung round the pole which gave the famous battle of the Standard its name, the others being those of S. Cuthbert of Durham, S. Peter of York, and S. Wilfred of Ripon, all of them saints who enjoyed a high degree of popular veneration, especially in the north of England. Amongst the clergy of the minster about this time was the chronicler Alured, or Ælfred, who describes himself as treasurer of the church at Beverley. His history, which is chiefly derived from Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Simeon of York, is entitled *Aluredi Beverlacensis Annales sive Historia de gestis Regum Britanniæ, libris ix. ad-annum* 1129. It is devoted in the main to the fabulous history of Britain, and contains little that is trustworthy, and almost nothing which is original.

Some extremely interesting facts as to the life and doings of the clergy of the minster in the days of the Plantagenets are given in a paper entitled "The Inmates of Beverley Minster,"† by Mr Arthur Leach, who contends that the town of Beverley was not called into existence on account of the influence and

* The provosts are given in the same order as in the *Yorkshire Archæological Society's Record Series*, vol. xvii.

† *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, vol. ii. 1894.

importance of the great church, but, on the other hand, the minster was founded at Beverley owing to the conspicuous position which that place held amongst the towns of Yorkshire. It is a curious instance of the vicissitudes of cities that, in the reign of Richard II., Beverley was one of the great towns of England, being much larger than Kingston-upon-Hull, which to-day boasts a population of more than two hundred thousand people, and is more than twelve times the size of its sometime rival. The provostries of Robert, who followed Becket (about 1154), Geoffrey, Simon de Apulia (about 1197), and Morgan (about 1212), do not seem to call for much notice, but the last-named was succeeded by a person of certain importance. This was Fulk Basset, whose ancestors came over with the Conqueror, and were very richly rewarded for the services they rendered to that prince. In 1244 Basset became Bishop of London, and the tide of circumstances was such that he soon found himself in acute opposition, not merely to the king, but to the Pope also. The audacity of his resistance to these potentates may be gathered from the bold words which he used in reply to their threats. "The Pope and king," he said, "may indeed take away my bishopric, for they are stronger than I; let them take away my mitre, and my helmet will remain." He is described by Matthew Paris as "a man of noble and of high birth, who, had he not lately wavered, was the anchor of the whole kingdom, and the shield of its stability and defence." His successors as provosts were John Cheshull (about 1234) and William de Eboraco, sometime Bishop of Salisbury, who, according to Bishop Godwin, was better versed in the laws of the realm than in those of God. After them came John Maunsell, or Mansel, keeper of the great seal (but not chancellor) and adviser of Henry III., who took office at Beverley in the year 1247. This ecclesiastic was remarkable as soldier, diplomatist, and statesman, and was much more at home in the camp than in the chapter-house. In spite of his extraordinary diligence and marked capacity for affairs of State, Mansel was extremely unpopular on account of his unswerving devotion to the king, and by reason also of his vast accumulation of patronage from which he derived great wealth. According to the Melrose chronicler, on the occasion of his obtaining a fair benefice of twenty pounds a year, he lightly exclaimed that it would do to provide for his dogs.

The list of his chief preferments is worth noting here as a sign of the times. He was Chancellor of S. Paul's, Dean of Wimborne Minster, Treasurer of York, and, as we have already seen, Provost of Beverley. He held prebends at London, York, Lincoln, Chichester, and Bridgnorth in Shropshire, while his benefices included Hooton and Howden in Yorkshire, Wigan, Maidstone, Ferring in Sussex, and Sawbridge in Kent. Under these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that he more than once refused a bishopric. The provosts who followed him were Alan (1251), Morgan (?) John de Chishull, and Peter de Cestria. Apparently the plurality scandal at last grew too great to be endured, for we find that Peter's successor, Aymo de Quarto or Carto, was deprived in 1302. This unconscionable provost appears to have been at one and the same time Precentor of Lyons, Rector of Dungarvan in Ireland, and Provost of Lausanne in Switzerland. Looking to these facts, it is small wonder that the nine altars * of the minster were served by deputies. The unholy system of pluralities seems to have flourished at Beverley like a green bay tree. The services in the minster were conducted by the vicars-choral and chantry priests, while vicars parochial attended to the chapelry of S. Mary, an offshoot of the collegiate church which we shall discuss later on. It should be remarked that the residence of the vicars, at which the provost's court was held, and to which the gaol of the provostry was attached, was called the bedern, a word subsequently Latinised into *peterna*.

About the year 1304 John de Naffington became provost, and was succeeded by Robert de Alburwick, of whom almost nothing is known. After him came Walter, who is mentioned by Dugdale, who derived his information from Leland. William de Melton, whose name occurs in reference to the provostry in the year 1310, was one of the most prominent figures in the disastrous reign of Edward II. He occupied some of the highest offices in the realm, becoming both treasurer and lord chancellor, and was consecrated Archbishop of York in 1315. During his term of office at Beverley, he erected the chapel of the blessed Virgin Mary into a parish church. His place as

* The altars were dedicated to S. Leonard (always attached to the archbishopric of York), S. Martin, S. Michael, S. Stephen, S. Mary, S. James, S. Andrew, S. Catherine, S. Peter, and S. Paul.

provost was taken by Nicholas de Hugate. Of his successor, William de la Mare, who occupied the position during the reign of Edward III., nothing of consequence is known. In 1344, however, he brought an action against Thomas de Ryse of Beverley, "to give a reasonable account of the time when he was receiver of the Provost's money," and we find him as plaintiff or defendant in some other suits connected with the minster. The next provost was Robert de Manfield, who was succeeded by Richard de Ravenser, who founded a chantry in S. John's, in the deed of ordination of which he is described as Archdeacon of Lincoln and Canon of York. We are further told that, "about the year 1380, he received and entertained, at his house in Lincolnshire, the canons of Beverley, who had been forcibly ejected from their benefices by the tyranny of Alexander Nevile, Archbishop of York, and sustained them till the time of his death, which happened about the year 1384.* Passing over the inconspicuous name of Adam de Lymbergh, we arrive at the comparatively illustrious one of John de Thoresby, who, after occupying sees in both England and Wales, was created a cardinal. After John de Thoresby, Robert Manfield was elected. His clerk, Simon Russell, in the year 1416, wrote a Latin *Treatise on the evidences respecting the dignity, benefice, and lordship of the Provostry of the Collegiate Church of S. John.* Russell is described as clerk to "the noble and venerable father and prudent man, Master Robert Manfield, Provost of Beverley, fourth of that name; Prebendary of the Prebend of S. James; President of the Chapter and Canon Residentiary; Prebendary also of Hustwayt, in York Cathedral; Canon and Prebendary of S. Paul's, London, of S. Martin the Great, London; Rector of Hackney and Master of the Free Chapel of Malden." Russell's chronicle has scarcely any historical value, but it is, nevertheless, the authority on which the statements of Leland are for the most part based. The curious original MS. has been lately restored to the minster, owing to the generosity of the lady into whose hands it chanced to fall. Manfield's successor, William Kynwoldmarsh, who was elected in the reign of Henry V., afterwards became Treasurer of England. His successor was Robert Nevile, who played a

* *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley*, by George Oliver. M. Turner, Beverley, 1829.

conspicuous part in the affairs of his time. Born in 1404, he was grandson of John of Gaunt and nephew of Henry VI., and, after rapid ecclesiastical promotion, he became Provost of Beverley about the year 1422. During his term of office he added a tower to the bedern. In 1427 Nevile was made Bishop of Salisbury, and, after holding the see for about ten years, he was translated, by papal bull, to Durham. In recommending Nevile to Pope Eugenius IV., Henry VI. used of him the words, *consanguinem nostra charissimum.* He died in 1457, and was buried in the south aisle of Durham Cathedral.

Robert Rolleston was made provost in 1427. After founding a chantry in the Church of S. John he was succeeded in 1450 by John Bermingham, who was Treasurer of York from 1432 to 1457. A man of far greater consequence than either of these was Lawrence Boothe (or Booth), who became provost in 1453, and was for some time Chancellor of Cambridge University, where he started a movement for establishing an art school and a school of civil law. After he had held the see of Durham for a long time he was chosen Archbishop of York in 1480. He was more conspicuous as a politician and lawyer than as an ecclesiastic, and for some time he was Lord Chancellor of England. On his death he was buried at Southwell Minster, to which church he had been a liberal benefactor. His half-brother, John, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, succeeded him at Beverley, giving place to Henry Webber in 1465. The next provost was Thomas Rotherham, otherwise known as Thomas Scot. He was born, spent his early years, and received the rudiments of his education at the town from which he took his name. From there he went to Eton, and thence to King's College, Cambridge. His promotion, owing in great measure to the partiality of Edward IV., was rapid. In 1467 he was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal, and in the following year he became Provost of Beverley and Bishop of Rochester. In 1471 Rotherham was translated from Rochester to Lincoln, but still continued to hold office at Beverley. His great talent as a lawyer secured for him the position of Lord Chancellor, and, according to Lord Campbell, in his "Lives of the Chancellors," he was "the greatest equity lawyer of his time." In 1480 he became Archbishop of York and legate

of the apostolic see. By Richard, Duke of Gloucester, Rotherham was deprived and thrown into prison, but, after the coronation of the duke as Richard III., he was released, and continued to take some part, although a comparatively slight one, in public affairs. To the two universities, at both of which he graduated, his munificence was conspicuous. He rendered great services to Lincoln College, Oxford, and is justly regarded as its "second founder." At Cambridge he completed the schools, enriched the library, and repaired the tower of S. Mary's Church. At Rotherham he founded what Leland describes as the "very fair college (of Jesus), sumptuously builded of brike," while the finest features of the grand parish church of that town are due to his initiative. His will was remarkable for the magnificence of the bequests, not merely to his family and servants, but also to the benefices and bishoprics he had enjoyed, and the college he founded. It is described by Canon Raine as "probably the most noble and striking will of a mediæval English bishop in existence." The provosts succeeding Rotherham were: Peter Taster, William Poteman, Hugh Trotter, some time precentor and treasurer of York, and Thomas Dalby. After them came Thomas Wynter, who was a reputed son of Cardinal Wolsey, and Reginald Lee, who was appointed in 1544, and was the last provost. The final dissolution of the collegiate establishment took place in 1549, in the reign of Edward VI. It should be noted that other ecclesiastical houses and bodies flourished in Beverley side by side with the minster. Amongst them were the Dominican, or Black Friars; S. Giles Hospital, founded before the Conquest; S. Nicholas' Hospital, founded before the year 1286, as well as the Knights' Hospitallers; the Franciscan Friars; and Trinity Hospital. Up to the time of the dissolution two schools were attached to Beverley Minster, as was the rule in collegiate churches. The schools were: the Grammar School, which was controlled by the provost, and the Song School, for which the precentor of the minster was responsible.

The minster fared well at the hands of a long succession of kings, and in consequence of their bounty, and of the vigilance of the provosts in collecting its rents and protecting its other revenues, it gradually increased in riches and power. In 1202 King John confirmed and extended the privileges of the

collegiate body, and his charter was re-affirmed by Henry III. Edward I. visited Beverley in 1299 when on his way to join his army in Scotland, and on this occasion the banner of S. John was once more removed from its place in the minster and carried across the Border, that it might bring success to English arms against the Scots. In relation to this incident, the following entries in the Wardrobe Account are of interest :—

To master Gilbert de Grimsby, vicar of the collegiate church of S. John de Beverley, for his wages, from the 25th day of November, on which day he left Beverley to proceed, by command of the king, with the standard of S. John, in the king's suite aforesaid, to various parts of Scotland, until the 9th day of January, both computed, 46 days, at 8½d. per diem, . . £1, 8s. 9d.

To the same, for his wages from the 10th day of January, the day on which he departed from the court, going with the standard aforesaid to his home at Beverley, the 15th day of the same month, both days inclusive, being 6 days, at 1s. per diem, . . . 6s. 0d.

By his own hand at Meriton, . Together, £1, 14s. 9d.

In the year 1300 the king was at Beverley once more, being accompanied on this occasion by the queen and his eldest son, who, after his coronation, visited Beverley again in 1310. Edward III. renewed the charter in 1322, but in order to carry on his wars, he exacted men, arms, money, and even ships, from the clergy and burgesses, an imposition which they were by no means willing to suffer. Henry IV. visited Beverley twice during his reign, and in the time of Henry V. we find that S. John of Beverley is again in evidence, for the victory of Agincourt was attributed alike by the king and people to the interposition of the saint, taking place as it did on the anniversary of the date of S. John's translation. The following extract from the ordination of the feast of the translation is sufficiently curious to justify quotation :—

"For though God decreed to give help to this church of His and the kingdom of England's inhabitants, on the account of the merits of diverse saints with which she gloriously shines, yet He has of late more miraculously comforted them, as we sincerely trust, by the special prayers of the almificious con-

fessor and pontiff, his most blessed John of Beverley (in behalf of) the said church, together with the great men of the kingdom, and all its inhabitants and members. O the ineffable consolation of these our times, especially refreshing and memorable to all ages! that is the gracious victory of the most Christian Prince Henry the fifth king of England and his army in the battle lately fought at Agincourt, in the county of Picardy, which was granted to the English by the immense mercy of God to the praise of His name and the honour of the kingdom of England on the feast of the translation of the said saint. In which feast, during the engagement of our countrymen with the French (as we and our brethren heard in the last convocation from the true report of many, and especially of the inhabitants of the said country), holy oil flowed by drops like sweat out of his tomb as an indication of the Divine mercy toward his people, without doubt through the merits of the said most holy man."

In another version of the miracle the tomb is made to sweat blood instead of oil. So convinced was Henry V. of the beneficent interposition of the saint, that he visited the shrine at Beverley in 1420. Henry VI. came to the minster in 1448 while he was on a visit to the Earl of Northumberland, at Leconfield. Beverley seems to have been conspicuously loyal to Henry during the Wars of the Roses. During the reign of that monarch the manor of Beverley passed from the Archbishop of York to the Crown. The importance to which the minster had arrived in the reign of Edward VI. may be judged from the following extract from Mr Leach's paper on the "Inmates of Beverley Minster," to which allusion has already been made. He tells us that: "According to the certificate of the commissioners for colleges and chauntries, given with a view to their dissolution under the Colleges and Chauntries Act of the first year of Edward VI., A.D. 1547, there were, or should have been in the minster, 77 persons—viz. 1 provost, 9 canons or prebendaries, 3 dignitaries or officers, 7 parsons, 9 vicars-choral, 15 chauntry priests, 2 subordinate officers, 17 clerks, 4 sacristans or sextons, 2 incense-bearers, and 8 choristers, making 77 in all. Of course, these numbers were nothing like those of York Minster with its 36 canons, 36 vicars-choral, over 30 chauntry priests, and a proportionate number of clerks or choristers. Still, they formed a goodly and

substantial staff, which would present no mean show, even by the side of the 40 monks of Westminster Abbey, the 30 at Fountains, the 26 at Meaux, the 14 at Watton, or the 10 at Warten, and would place it high among the scanty and dwindling numbers to be found in most of the monastic houses, whether of Benedictine, Cistercian, or Augustinian foundation." The annual revenues of the minster in the days of its highest glory amounted to between nine hundred and a thousand pounds, a sum roughly equivalent to twenty times as much of our money. A part of the old endowment was granted to the civic authorities to repair the fabric of the minster, and maintain its services and those of the church of S. Mary. The staff of seventy-seven collegiate officers was reduced to one vicar and three assistants. Two of the latter were taken away in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but one was restored in 1806.

A few lines as to the history of Beverley, subsequent to the dissolution of the collegiate body, must suffice us here. In the reign of Richard II., as we have already seen, the place was amongst the chief towns of England. Little by little the burgesses acquired valuable concessions from the provosts. At length, in 1573, the fifteenth year of the reign of Elizabeth, a charter, incorporating the town of Beverley, passed the Great Seal. In this document the place is described as ancient and populous; and it is declared that "it shall be one body politic and corporate, by the name of the mayor, governors, and burgesses, appointing Edward Ellerken, Esq., first mayor." So early as the reign of Edward I., Beverley was privileged to send two members to parliament, but the right having long fallen into abeyance, it was restored by the new instrument. The queen made further provision for the minster by a considerable gift of property. In the great Civil War, Beverley played an active and conspicuous part. In July 1642, Charles, with an army of two thousand men revisited the place, with a view to the occupation of Hull, which was held by Sir John Hotham. Failing to achieve his purpose, the king moved his court to York, but left a body of troops to keep Beverley. The Cavaliers, however, were forced by the Parliamentarians to quit the place. Since the Restoration, the history of Beverley has been uneventful. The ancient fortification of the town has long been a matter of dispute. It is doubtful whether it was walled or not, though it was undoubtedly approached by

five bars or gates, of which one, the North Bar, is still remaining. Leland says of it, "Beverle is a large towne, but I could not perceyve that ever hit was waulled, though ther be certen gates of stone port-colesed for defense." Even if it was never walled, it is by no means improbable that it was surrounded by a ditch or moat. Some of the names of the streets and open places of the town are curiously indicative of its antiquity. Amongst these may be mentioned Toll Gavel, Wednesday Market, and the like. It should be added that Beverley is the capital of the East Riding of Yorkshire.

We left off the consideration of the fabric of the minster at the great fire of 1188. So destructive was this conflagration that the rebuilding of the church became imperative; at the same time, there seems to be no doubt that the Norman nave was left standing, and was possibly used until the building of the present nave in the fourteenth century. But it is more probable that it was replaced by a nave of the twelfth century. Some time elapsed between the fire and the commencement of the new works at the east end of the church. At the outset we are faced by a problem of some difficulty, which, in the years 1892 and 1893, was discussed in considerable detail by Mr Bilson, Canon Nolloth, and Mr W. H. St. John Hope in the pages of the *Antiquary*. In so brief a handbook as this, it would be out of place to enter into an elaborate discussion of the evidence adduced by Mr Bilson on the one hand, and by the canon on the other, but it is important that we should rightly apprehend the main contentions of these gentlemen. At the back of the nave triforium there exist certain semi-circular arches with zig-zag ornament, the masonry of which is in great part Norman. According to Canon Nolloth these arches are *in situ* as originally built. If this be the case, it follows that the nave of Beverley is simply a reconstruction on a Norman core, such as is found in several prominent English churches. Mr Bilson, however, holds that the arches are not in their original positions; that they are merely constructed of old Norman material, which, being on the spot, was naturally used afresh by the builders of the fourteenth century. Mr Bilson, after very careful examination, and great experience of the fabric, thus lucidly sums up his case: "The difficulty of assuming a *closed wide-arched* Norman triforium, with its rear arch decorated with chevrons; the inherent improbabilities

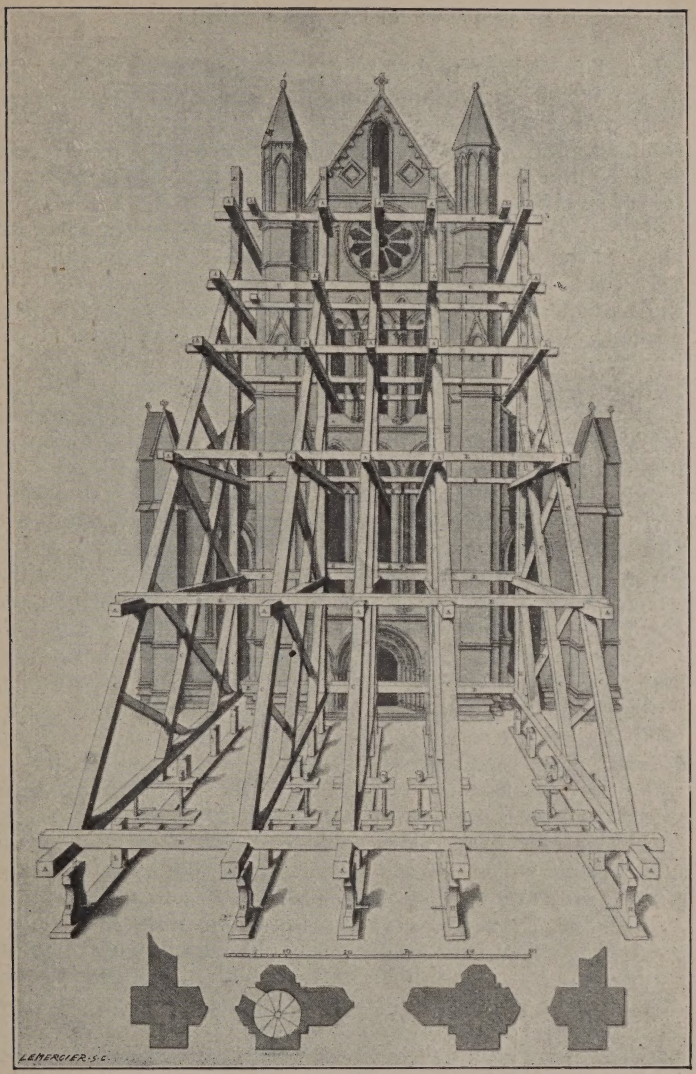
arising out of the known order of procedure of the thirteenth century builders, and the nature of the structural design; the fact that all the work in the two bays in question below the triforium is thirteenth or fourteenth century work; that in the walls within the chevron arches there are, on the whole, considerably more claw-tooled stones than axed ones; that where the axed stones occur in any quantity their beds continue the beds of the fourteenth century triforium arcade; that the so-called Norman whitewash covers axed and claw-tooled stones alike, and that it covers also fourteenth century masonry of Tadcaster stone; that the wide joints, where they occur, are simply the result of the unevenness of the beds and joints of the stones; and that the piers which support these chevron arches west of the pier of junction are entirely of Tadcaster stone, and therefore fourteenth century work—all combine to prove in the most unmistakable manner that these Norman arches cannot possibly be *in situ*." * It should be noted that Mr Bilson is warmly supported by local antiquaries of position, such as Mr C. C. Hodges of Hexham, who has made an extensive photographic survey of the minster, and it is specially significant that he has converted so distinquished an archæologist as Mr St. John Hope to his view, in spite of the fact that Mr Hope previously accepted Canon Nolloth's theory. The balance of authority is therefore against the canon's ingenious contention. It may be noted here that an admirable and profusely illustrated summary of Mr Bilson's discoveries and contentions in regard to the church will be found in the pages of the third volume of the *Architectural Review* (p. 197 *et seq.*). The ruins of the fire of 1188 did not include the nave, which seems to have suffered comparatively slight injury. Moreover, sufficient of the eastern parts of the minster seem to have escaped destruction as to have encouraged repair. And not repair only, for at the crossing an elaborate and lofty tower was erected. The four great central piers did not. however, long bear the weight thus placed upon them, for, in a comparatively short time, the newly-built tower fell. After this collapse, the high altar was erected at the east end of the nave, which was not materially injured by the fall of the tower.

At the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century the great rebuilding of the eastern parts of the church,

* *The Antiquary*, vol. 27, 1893, p. 23.

including the bay of the nave adjoining the crossing, was commenced. A mere glance at the minster is sufficient to convince one of the magnificence of this undertaking, comprising, as it did, the splendid choir, and the greater and lesser transepts. The wonderful regularity and symmetry of the construction, the striking absence of any considerable deviation from the scheme of the original designer, and not less the uniformity of the rare, yet sufficient decorative details, suggest that the work must, looking to the times, have been pushed forward with amazing energy. The very name of the master-builder to whom we owe this beautifully conceived fabric is unknown to us. Like so many of the great architects of the Gothic period his identity is lost in the mists of time. As the entire work was completed in twenty years or so, it is by no means improbable that the old English artist saw his design executed in every detail, to the manifest advantage of the harmony of the whole. The plan of the eastern part of Beverley has almost nothing in common with that of the adjacent minster of York, but it resembles in a considerable degree the choir of S. Hugh at Lincoln, in spite of the fact that S. Hugh's choir ended apsidally, while that of Beverley has a square eastern termination. But if there is a general likeness between the eastern parts of Beverley and those of Lincoln, the resemblance to those of Salisbury is still more marked. This fact must strike anybody who takes the trouble to place the ground plans of the two churches side by side. To the architectural relation of Beverley with other great English Gothic churches, we shall have occasion to refer later.

A long interval, somewhere about three-quarters of a century, elapsed between the erection of the bay of the nave next the crossing and the more westerly bays, for we must bear in mind that the earlier nave was still standing, and was doubtless in use. Work was begun on the new, or, as some would have it, the refaced, nave about the year 1325. In spite of the long interval mentioned above, the main features of the work at the east end were so cleverly adapted by the new builders that a merely casual observer might be excused for failing to notice any material difference between the two. The nave seems to have been erected with considerable rapidity; but in the middle of the fourteenth century building operations were



THE NORTH FRONT OF THE GREAT TRANSEPT,
WITH THORNTON'S SCREEN.
[From a Drawing by G. Geldart, 1739.

arrested for a long period by the Black Sickness which raged in the North of England from the year 1349 onwards. At length, after a stoppage of over thirty years, the work was resumed, and the church completed in the Perpendicular style by the construction of the noble west front, which is one of its chiefest ornaments.

The story of the building of the minster practically ceases between the years 1340-50. Whatever additions or alterations were made may safely be dismissed as unimportant: indeed the church suffered, not from too much attention, but from absolute neglect, so that, at the opening of the last century, it was in a condition which verged upon ruin. At the instigation of a Mr Moyser, sometime M.P. for the borough of Beverley, energetic efforts were made for its restoration, Sir Michael Wharton, who represented the town in Parliament, heading the subscription list with a donation of £500. It is a curious commentary on the want of veneration for ancient buildings in the times of the early Hanoverians, that King George I. made a grant of materials from the ruins of S. Mary's Abbey at York as a contribution towards the restoration. Those who know the exquisite fragment of this famous Benedictine establishment will not be altogether grateful for the royal generosity. In 1713 Nicholas Hawksmoor surveyed and reported on the minster. It would appear that, though "thorough," the restoration of Beverley was not so disastrous as that to which some of our great churches have been subjected. That repair was absolutely necessary may be judged from the fact that the gable end of the north transept had declined from the perpendicular so as to overhang the base by nearly four feet. The gable end was saved by a bold and ingenious yet simple device, contrived by a carpenter from York, named Thornton. A vast wooden frame was constructed, by means of which the whole transept front was screwed back into its proper place. A curious contemporary engraving, by Fourdrinier, after Geldart, illustrating the apparatus in position, is preserved amongst the curiosities of the minster, and is reproduced here. It may be noted, in passing, that Thornton's device is wrongly attributed by Horace Walpole to Hawksmoor. The restorers, after the manner of their kind, could not rest satisfied with repair, but proceeded to construction. In days in which Gothic was the synonym of

barbaric, it was not to be expected that additions would be made in any other than the "classic" style. The result was, of course, supremely grotesque. The low tower over the crossing was built, and above this a bulb-like dome of lead, surmounted by a gilded ball, was raised. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for May 1799 remarks that "this departure from the work of the building is only to be accounted for by making its architect, the late Lord Burlington, a worthy follower of the high fame of Sir Christopher (Wren)." The interior was "beautified" with galleries supported by Doric pillars, and an organ screen and reredos conceived in similar taste.

In 1866 Sir Gilbert Scott appeared on the scene, and commenced operations with characteristic energy. The Georgian excresences were swept away, a process which nobody will regret; layers of whitewash and the accumulated dirt of centuries were scraped off; the cylinders of Purbeck stone were repolished, and the decoration in colour of the roof was renewed. The repair of the nave was completed in 1868, and the architect was still engaged on the church at the time of his death. It is agreeable to think that, so long as the minster is controlled by the present authorities, it is little likely to suffer from needless architectural experiments or fantastic and capricious structural alterations.

CHAPTER II

THE MINSTER—EXTERIOR

BEVERLEY has been somewhat absurdly called "the Rouen of England." Except that both these towns are alike fortunate in the possession of splendid churches, there is not the faintest similarity between the noble and infinitely picturesque Norman city on the Seine, and the commonplace little Yorkshire town, situated as it is on the flat and marshy country watered by the Humber and its sluggish tributaries. Apart from the minster and the remarkably fine church of S. Mary, Beverley, looking to its high antiquity and stirring history, is singularly unattractive. The North Bar, it is true, is a fragment which gives a hint of ancient days of strife; the scanty remains of a Benedictine friary suggest Beverley's period of ecclesiastical influence; while courtly Georgian days are recalled by a market cross which, though it has slight claims to beauty, is not without an agreeable touch of distinction. But, in spite of these things, Beverley is a place of which the unlovely streets can boast hardly anything to redeem them, save occasional glimpses of the churches which stand at opposite ends of the town. The possession of these two fascinating buildings places Beverley in a remarkable position among English towns. It is, indeed, difficult to call to mind any other place which has two ecclesiastical monuments on a scale equally splendid. London, of course, must be excepted from this as from most other comparisons; Bristol, with its re-built cathedral, and its gradiose church of S. Mary Redcliffe, is a possible rival; Winchester, if we regard the abbey church of S. Cross as within the limit of the city, is undoubtedly a serious competitor; Coventry is passing rich with S. Michael's and Holy Trinity Church; Shrewsbury has the churches of S. Mary and Holy Cross; while Chester, in addition to its cathedral, boasts the grand fragment of S. John's.

But, with the exceptions of Winchester and Shrewsbury, all these towns are infinitely larger than Beverley, and not one of them presents a case altogether analogous to it. The minster loses nothing in effect from the acute contrast produced by its unpicturesque environment. Its magnificence, its prestige are possibly enhanced by the group of low and undistinguished houses over which it towers. There is no link of venerable buildings and ancient green-sward to bind the church to the town; the eye passes in an instant from the commonplace streets to the majestic fabric. The burial-ground which surrounds it, unlike the famous and beautiful churchyard at Landaff, which seems to soften even the austerity of death, is without any element of beauty. A few trees it has, but they are poor trees, which add nothing to the dignity of the church. But in good truth, the church can do well without the aid of an exquisite setting. The stateliness and gracefulness of its admirably ordered symmetry, the fine proportion of its component parts appeal irresistibly to the eye. So completely is one impressed by its unity, that it is difficult to believe that it is the architectural outcome of successive generations, that it is not the work of a single master-builder. From the east window to the west front it seems serenely uniform, triumphantly decorative, though its decoration is severe in its simplicity, and nowhere degenerates into the flamboyant and over-profuse. In spite of the absence of a great central tower, which was originally intended to bind together and emphasise the whole, the minster is at once complete and satisfying. By reason of its great height in proportion to its width, it appears larger and loftier than it really is, larger, indeed, than other churches actually of greater size. The finest view which one can obtain of it is from the road (or better still, from some gardens beyond the road), which runs parallel to the south side. Here one sees it as a long, lofty mass, broken once by the narrow and towering gable-end of the eastern transept, and then again by the broader and more majestic front of the great transept. The absence of a dominant central tower of course makes itself felt, but, in spite of this, there are few finer architectural sights in this country. The north side is hemmed in by mean and ugly buildings, which render a panoramic view of it impossible, but points will easily be found from which its beauti-

ful design may be appreciated. Of the east and west ends it is possible to get uninterrupted views. The colour of the church, which is built of Tadcaster stone, is very soft, delicate, and finely variegated by the effects of climate.

The **Principal Dimensions** of the minster, as given by the Rev. J. L. Petit in his "Remarks on Beverley Minster" (*Archæological Institute's York Volume*, 1848), are as follow:—

	Feet	Inches
Total length inside	332	6
Extreme breadth inside at principal intersection	167	2
Breadth at the eastern intersection	106	4
Total interior width of nave and aisles	63	1
Distance between two opposite pairs of nave	27	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Length of nave westward of great transept	171	2
Length of choir between west and east transepts	67	$8\frac{1}{2}$
Width of east transept, exclusive of aisle	21	8
Distance from east transept to east end	35	3
Height of vaulting, about	65	0

To these measurements may be added the height of the west towers, 162 feet 6 inches. The exterior length of the church is about 365 feet. For the purpose of comparison it may be useful to give the following measurements of York Minster and of the cathedrals of Lincoln and Salisbury in round numbers:—

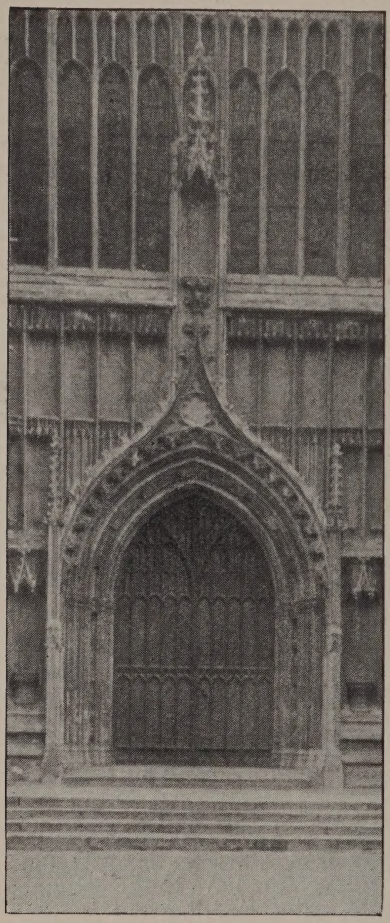
	Total Length (Exterior) Feet	Breadth (Nave and Aisles) Feet	(Transepts) Feet
York	524	103	250
Lincoln	488	80	220
Salisbury	473	99	230

The **West Front** and **Towers.**—The west front is one of the most conspicuous and picturesque features of the minster. Of its merits from the point of view of construction the best authorities on English Gothic architecture hold very conflicting opinions. It is thus appreciated and described by Rickman:* "The first of these—*i.e.* Perpendicular west fronts—and by far the finest is that of Beverley Minster.

* Rickman. *Styles of Architecture in England.* Seventh edition, p. 281.

What the west front of York is to the Decorated style, this is to the Perpendicular, with this addition that, in this front, nothing but one style is seen, all is harmonious. Like York Minster, it consists of a very large west window to the nave, and two towers for the end of the aisles. This window is of nine lights, and the tower windows of three lights. The windows in the tower correspond in range nearly with those of the aisles and clerestory windows of the nave; the upper windows of the tower are belfry windows. Each tower has four large and eight small pinnacles, and a very beautiful battlement. The whole front is panelled, and the buttresses, which have a very bold projection, are ornamented with various tiers of niche-work, of excellent composition and most delicate execution. The doors are uncommonly rich, and have the hanging feathered ornament; the canopy of the great centre doors runs up above the side of the window, and stands free in the centre light, with a very fine effect. The gable has a real tympanum, which is filled with fine tracery." It is instructive to contrast Rickman's somewhat indiscriminate praise with the searching criticism of Professor Freeman, a criticism which seems to the present writer decidedly to err on the side of severity. After alluding to the sweeping away of the earlier work, the Professor says: "The present west front arose with all its beauty balanced by the unhappy mistake of its sham gable. That mistake has its effects within as well as without. The design was the usual one of towers ending the aisles, and a gable between them. And the towers had been planned in the earlier thirteenth century work; for to the west of the ten bays of the nave proper is on each side an eleventh, and of greater height, the beginning of the special design for the bay occupied by the towers." Mr Freeman then goes on to say: "The architect was not like his predecessor, satisfied simply to carry out the general design of an earlier time, with such changes as the taste of his age would naturally lead him to. He was not satisfied to carry out the high roof of the nave to the extreme west, and to finish with its high gable standing out simply, boldly, and naturally between the two towers. Instead of making a high gable spring naturally from the walls of the nave, he chose to make a low gable, the real finish of nothing, spring from a higher point. . . . Beverley follows neither the

arrangement which gives no distinctive character to the western bay nor that which marks it off by a distinctive arch.

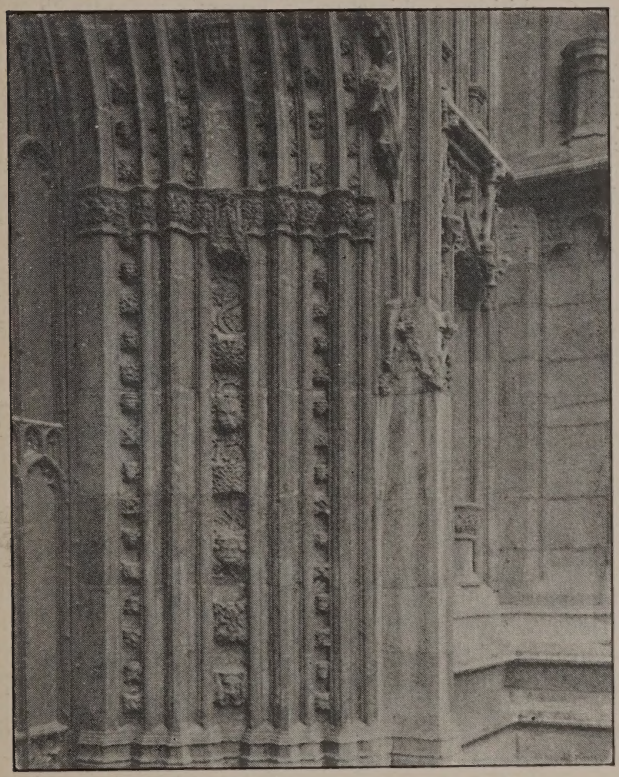


From Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]
THE WEST DOORWAY.

An intermediate arrangement is followed, which is by no means pleasing. There is no real arch across the nave, only a vaulting rib somewhat thicker than its fellows. And the very merits of the great Perpendicular west window only make matters worse. For . . . its more sharply-pointed arch only brings into stronger contrast the lowness of the vaulting arch of the nave, by which, in fact, it is partly hidden. This irregular bay has never been quite finished. It has never received its own vault—the only part of the church left unvaulted. But the lines are traced out with a more pointed arch than that of the nave, and one that fits in well with the west window. The presence of a west doorway in the south aisle, while there is none in the north, leads to a difference in the finish of the two aisles within as well as without. There is also a glazed window in the western bay of the north aisle, while to the south there is merely blank panelling."*

* Freeman. *Cathedral Cities. York, Lincoln, and Beverley*, p. 29,

Few persons will be found to agree with Professor Freeman, that all the beauty of the front is bålanced by what he describes as the sham gable. And it is quite open to argument as to whether the gable deserves the epithet sham at all.



From Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]
DETAIL OF THE WEST DOORWAY.

It is much more than an ornamental screen, for behind it is an extensive room, which is at a greater height than the

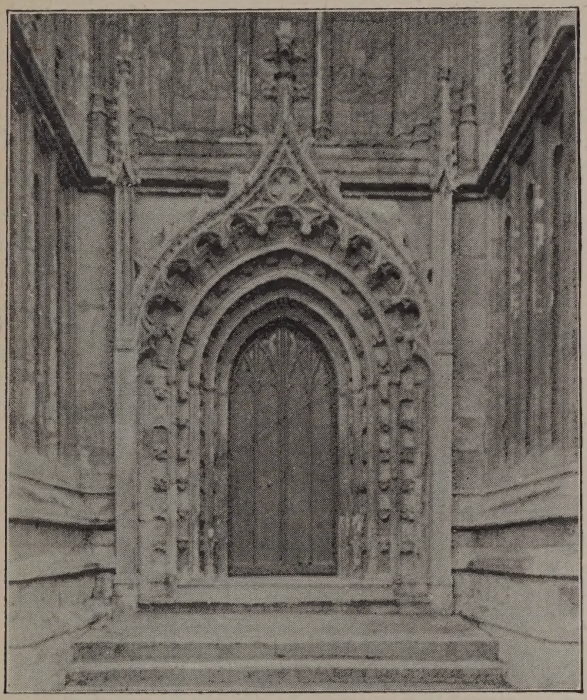
1896. This folio contains etchings of the three churches, by R. Farren. Those of Beverley are, however, comparatively unimportant.

vaulting of the nave and which runs along the entire width of the towers. It is almost inevitable that the west front of Beverley should be compared with the like parts of the great neighbouring cathedral churches of York and Lincoln. In making any such comparisons it must be borne in mind that, however ambitious architecturally, however cathedralesque in character, Beverley is on a relatively small scale.

Not a few critics have attempted heavily to discount the architectural pretensions of the west front of Beverley, by suggesting that it owes much to that of York, while some have gone so far as to insist that it is merely an imitation of the western termination of York Minster. That there is a striking similarity between these parts of the two structures is not to be gainsaid, and it may be freely admitted that the designer of Beverley did not hesitate to make use of York as a model. But he was anything but a merely slavish copyist. The impression produced by the two fronts is essentially different. At York one is overwhelmed by the magnificent effect of solidity, due to the vast width of the façade; at Beverley, on the other hand, we are amazed by the appearance of height, produced by the soaring vertical lines of the structure. In considering the two buildings, it seems hardly credible that the west towers of York rise to a height of 201 feet while those of Beverley are only between 162 and 163 feet high.* At York the towers look considerably lower than they really are, while at Beverley they seem infinitely more lofty than is actually the case. In both instances the towers are in the Perpendicular style, and they were built contemporaneously. While it is possible that the York towers were commenced slightly earlier than those of Beverley, it is very probable that the latter were completed first. The Beverley towers are certainly more graceful than those of the church of S. Peter. It may, indeed, be charged against them that they are somewhat too light and slender; but it must be remembered that they were intended to be seen not merely side by side, but together with the great dominating central

* The comparative dimensions of the west fronts of York and Beverley are roughly as follows:—Width externally—York, 140 feet 6 inches; Beverley, 89 feet 9 inches. Width of west towers—York, 32 feet square; Beverley, 19 feet 6 inches from north to south, 23 feet 9 inches from east to west.

tower and steeple which the minster unhappily lacks. The most ardent admirers of York and Beverley will be forced to admit the greater nobility, the finer design of the towers of Lincoln; but with them the superiority of the west front of Lincoln ends. It has been suggested that Sir Christopher



From Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]
SMALL DOORWAY IN THE WEST FRONT.

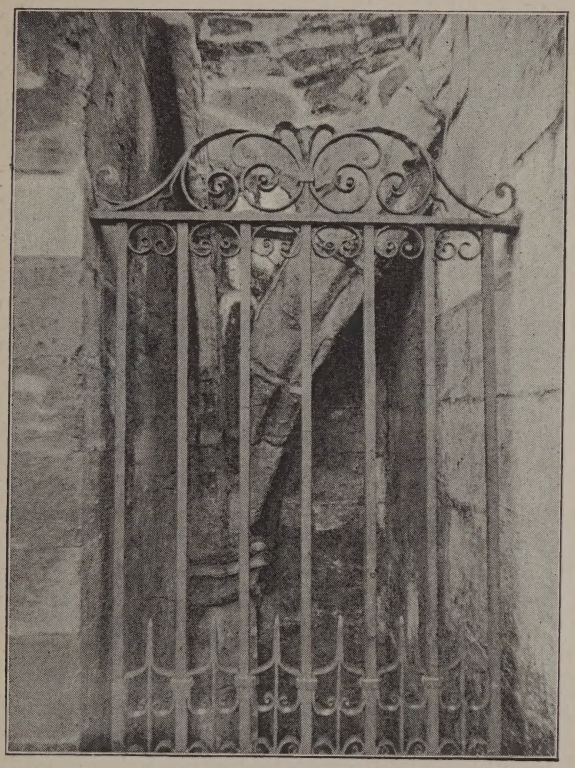
Wren borrowed from the Beverley towers in his design for those of Westminster Abbey. Whatever may be the facts of the case, the resemblance between the two is by no means obvious. At Beverley there is only one window in the belfry stage, as is usual in Yorkshire, instead of two or more, as is the case in many other parts of England. In

the matter of the great west window Beverley has an emphatic advantage over York. The Beverley window is a feature of singular beauty and distinction, and nothing, to quote Freeman, "can be better than the way in which it fits into its place between the buttresses, and proclaims itself the main feature of the west front." It will be noticed that only two of the compartments of the front are pierced with doorways. There is a central portal, and a smaller one under the south-west tower, but there is none under the north-west tower. The effect is more curious than beautiful. At York the more usual arrangement of a central doorway, with one on each side of it, prevails. Below the south-west tower are some scanty fragments of old building, which can be seen through an ornamental iron railing which has been erected for their protection. Concerning these, Thomas Allen, in his "History of York (1831)," says: "The south-west tower is set upon the remains of Early English arches, like portions of a crypt, but they do not appear much, if any, earlier than the eastern portions of the building; although it should be remarked, when this part of the building was repairing, the action of fire upon the stones was very plainly to be discovered." In a footnote we are told that the preservation of this remnant was owing to the "judicious conduct" of a Mr Comins.

Mr Petit, who is undoubtedly a more trustworthy authority on such a point, tells us in the essay already alluded to: "That Decorated work was continued up to the present front is clear from some remains in the south side of the southern tower. In the south wall of this tower is part of a ribbed vault, springing from a capital now nearly level with the ground, and which appears to have belonged to a crypt, though this is not the usual position for one. And a buttress and portion of wall, with what seems the jamb of a Decorated window attached to it, occurs at the south-west corner, into which is built the Perpendicular buttress of the tower, the masonry and colour of the stone being different." On this south-west tower is a sun-dial which bears the inscription, "Now, or when."

The west front of Beverley has almost escaped the hardness, the lack of elasticity (if the phrase may be allowed), which characterises so much of the best Perpendicular work to be found in Yorkshire and the adjoining northern counties. It

must be admitted that its numerous empty niches make it look to some extent bare and incomplete. Whether it is wise to fill old niches with new statues is a matter of taste. The authorities at Beverley have, however, decided to make the



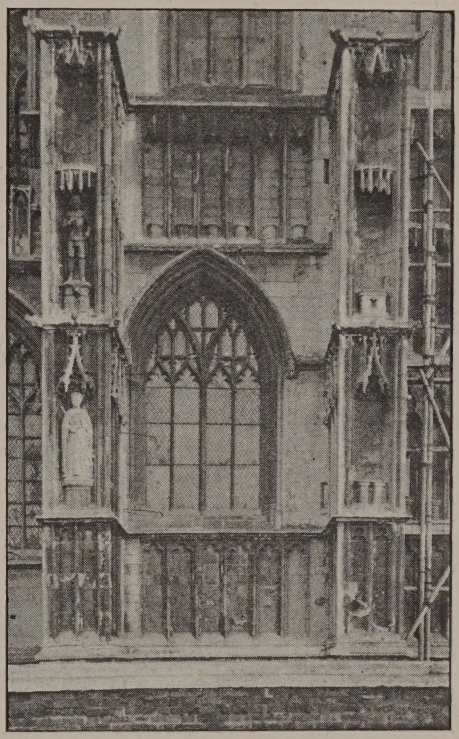
From Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]

REMAINS UNDER THE SOUTH-WEST TOWER.

experiment, and, in spite of an emphatic protest from the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, are carrying out their enterprise with considerable energy. In issuing their appeal for funds, they quote Lichfield and Salisbury cathedrals,

as buildings which have been largely beautified by the restoration of the sculpture. It is open to grave question whether the dignity of either of these churches has been really enhanced by the new decorative additions. The subjects for the niches at Beverley have been chosen with intelligence. The following statues are to fill those in the west face of the north tower:—King Lucius, S. John of Beverley, S. Hilda of Whitby, Coiffi, (described as "the last High Priest of Thor at Goodmanham"), the Venerable Bede, King Edwin, Bishop Eborius, Brithunus (Berethun), Walter l'Espec, and S. Thomas-à-Becket. Over the bottom window will be represented: Edward III., Archbishop Thurstan, Henry III., Henry IV., and Archbishop Melton. In the niches of the west front of the south tower there will be statues of: Queen Ethelburga, Archbishop Paulinus, Winwald, second Abbot of Beverley, S. Gregory, King Æthelstan, S. Wilfrid, Gilbert de Grimsby (Vicar, with the Standard, 1299), and John de Wycliffe. The places over the lowest window will be filled by figures of Henry V., Queen Catherine, Philip Ingleberd of Beverley, Henry VI., and Cardinal Fisher. The niches of the central portal are to be filled with statues of the twelve patriarchs (each with his standard or emblem), and of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Zachariah, Malachi, Moses, Joshua, David, and Elijah. In the mouldings of the arches, there will be eight small seated figures representing various types of Our Lord, while the finial will be occupied by a statue of S. John. By the time this book is published the majority of these statues will be in their places; some of them have, indeed, already been erected. In all its parts the minster has, or recently had, no less than 177 empty niches, so that the entire work will not be completed for some time. It is curious that in only a single instance have we an ancient figure in its original place at the west end. It cannot be said with certainty whose counterfeit presentment this is. It is on a buttress of the north side of the north tower. According to Mr Bilson, it is intended for a "Percy, in the mantle of a peer, with the arms of Percy quatering Lucy on his breast, probably the second earl, Hotspur's son, who was slain at St. Albans." Immediately below this curious piece of ancient carving was placed, as a memorial of the sixtieth year of her reign, a statue of the Queen. It cannot be considered altogether a success, and hardly promises so well as might be wished for the rest of the work which is being carried forward.

The **Bells** of Beverley Minster have been celebrated more than once in popular song, and have a more than local fame. At a time when comparatively little care is taken of the ancient bells of our English churches, it is altogether pleasant to find that in Canon Nolloth the minster peal has an enthusiastic and prudent custodian who has made a special study of bells and their preservation. The peal is in the north-west tower, and consists of eight bells. In addition, there is a great single bell in the south-west tower. At the time at which the western towers were built the minster probably possessed four bells, of which the single bell in the south-west tower, the second and the fourth (the present tenor), are still in existence. Until recently the old second bell was the sixth in the peal, but, as it had almost entirely lost its tone, it was replaced in 1896 by a new one giving the same note, F sharp, which was cast by Messrs Taylor of Loughborough, who are the founders of the great bell of S. Paul's, which is the largest in England, the Alexandra peal at the Imperial Institute, and the new peal at Worcester Cathedral. The old second bell has been retained



From Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]
BUTTRESSES OF THE NORTH-WEST TOWER.

as a relic of the past. Its weight is about 14 cwts. and it has the inscription, *Ista secunda tonat, ut plus Brithunus ametur* (This resounds second, that Brithunas may be loved the more). It appears from the marks to have been the work of Johannes de Stafford, Mayor of Leicester in 1366 and 1370. The new bell which has taken its place bears the same inscription, with the addition of *Substituta*, 1895. Its weight is 13 cwts. 2 qrs. 17 lbs., and its diameter 3 ft. 6 in. The other ancient bell (the present eighth or tenor) is named Peter. It is of rich tone and bears the following inscription :—

Solve jubente Deo terrarum Petre cathenas,
Qui facis ut pateant celestia regna beatis.

(Loose thou, O Peter, at God's behest the chains of the world, Who openest the Kingdom of Heaven to the blest.)

This bell weighs about 29 cwts., its note is D, and its diameter is 4 ft. 4 in. It was also probably made by Johannes de Stafford. The treble bells, made by T. Lester of London, and dated 1747, have lately been recast, and bear new inscriptions. The old third bell, dated 1799, was made by James Harrison of Barton. It was recast and made heavier in 1896, and now weighs over 8 cwts. The fourth bell is dated 1633, and is inscribed *Venite exultemus Domino*; the fifth was founded by G. Mears & Co. of London in 1861; the seventh, dated 1747, was made by Thomas Lester. The great bell in the south-west tower, of which the reputed weight is 2 tons 12 cwts., is inscribed *Soli Deo gloria, pax hominibus*, MDCCIII. (Glory to God alone, and peace to men, 1703).

Writing in the *Beverley Guardian* in March 1896, the time at which the minster peal was refixed, Dr Nolloth says, "The whole of the bells have been re-hung, 'quatri-turned' where the clappers have worn too deeply into the sound-bow, fitted with 'independent crown-staples' to hold the clappers, and so prevent the common cracking of the bells in the crown from the expansion of the iron bolts cast in according to the old method. The steel gudgeons and gun-metal bearings are new and of the best construction, and the 'go' of the bells is greatly improved."

The view from the top of the north-west tower is worth seeing, for, owing to the unbroken flat character of this part

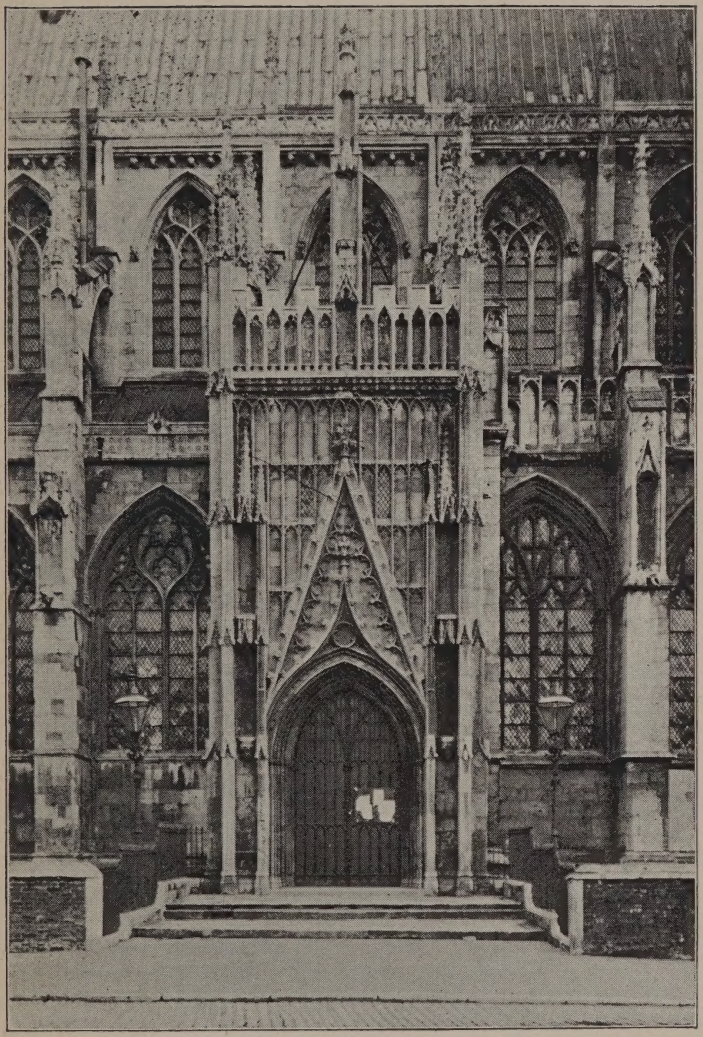
of Yorkshire and the adjacent county of Lincoln, a very large expanse of country can be seen at once. Far below the tower itself are the irregular masses of small houses, some covered with slates, but for the most part roofed with bright, glowing, red tiles, which form the town of Beverley. Above the town rises the splendid church of S. Mary, which alone redeems the foreground of the view from the commonplace. From no point whatsoever can the dignified and splendid proportions of S. Mary's be so perfectly appreciated as from the minster tower. It is backed by a grove of tall, dark trees; in front is a broad, bright red band of roofs. Between the two the church, dominated by the grand tower over the crossing, rises white and dream-like. To gain an idea of its noble scale, it may be compared with the respectable modern church of S. Nicholas, which is about half-a-mile due east from the minster. Beverley is surrounded on all sides with flat fields of grass and corn, amongst which clumps and lines of great trees stand out at intervals. To the south-east is Hull, which appears as a smoky, grey mass, broken here and there by groups of spires and tall chimneys. The architectural student should on no account omit to view the minster from the top of the tower, for from it he can at once appreciate the exquisite symmetry of the whole building, the ornate and graceful flying buttresses which support the nave, the noble design of the great transepts, and the perfectly graduated scale of the lesser transepts beyond them.

The fact that the **Central Tower** of Beverley is incomplete makes it impossible for us to claim for the outline of the minster the same variety and dignity as we feel when we see buildings in which the arrangement of a central and two western towers has been fully carried out. Amongst these, York, Lincoln, Canterbury, and Durham are on the grand scale, while Southwell and Ripon are examples on a scale considerably smaller. All the towers at Lincoln once carried spires of wood and lead; the central tower of York is obviously unfinished. There can be no doubt that it was intended to build a spire over the crossing at Beverley; and it goes without saying that the minster has lost much through the failure to complete this final and dominating ornament. On this subject Mr Petit makes some very interesting and

suggestive comments, and contrasts what took place at Beverley with that which happened at Salisbury:

"It is worthy of remark how differently two buildings, which nearly resemble each other in their original design and the time of their commencement, have been treated. At Salisbury the addition designed was suitable rather to the appearance than the strength and construction of the building. It was felt that the low central tower, which barely comprised the roof, ought to be heightened and finished with the spire; and this the architect was determined to carry into effect, in spite of the weakness of the structure below; he therefore threw out a system of springers, buttresses, and cross arches to strengthen his supports, by which means he was enabled to complete the structure in accordance with his bold design. At Beverley the architect made that addition which was the safest, and consulted the stability rather than the general character of the building, which equally required the lofty central steeple; but he dared not impose additional weight upon its transepts, as they had, in all probability, already betrayed their insecurity of foundation." But for this most unfortunate insecurity, the outline of Beverley would have been equal to that of any church of the same size in England, and, indeed, perhaps superior. As it is, it shares a lack of completeness which characterises Westminster Abbey even more strongly. It is curious to note how few, comparatively speaking, of the churches designed for three towers, possess them. At S. Alban's, Winchester, and Gloucester they were completed, and afterwards deliberately removed in order to give emphasis to the central tower. At Chichester, Chester, Selby Abbey, and a host of smaller churches they were obviously intended, though never completed. It is well that at Beverley nothing in the way of a makeshift finish of the central tower has been effected. There is no attempt to conceal the fact that it is incomplete. The cupola with ogee outlines was too much for the taste of the year 1827, when the excresence was removed.

The **Nave, North Side.**—The exterior of the north side of the nave differs considerably from the south, for the Perpendicular work extends eastward to, and includes the north porch, while on the south the Decorated style is seen right up to the south-west tower. The nave aisles on both



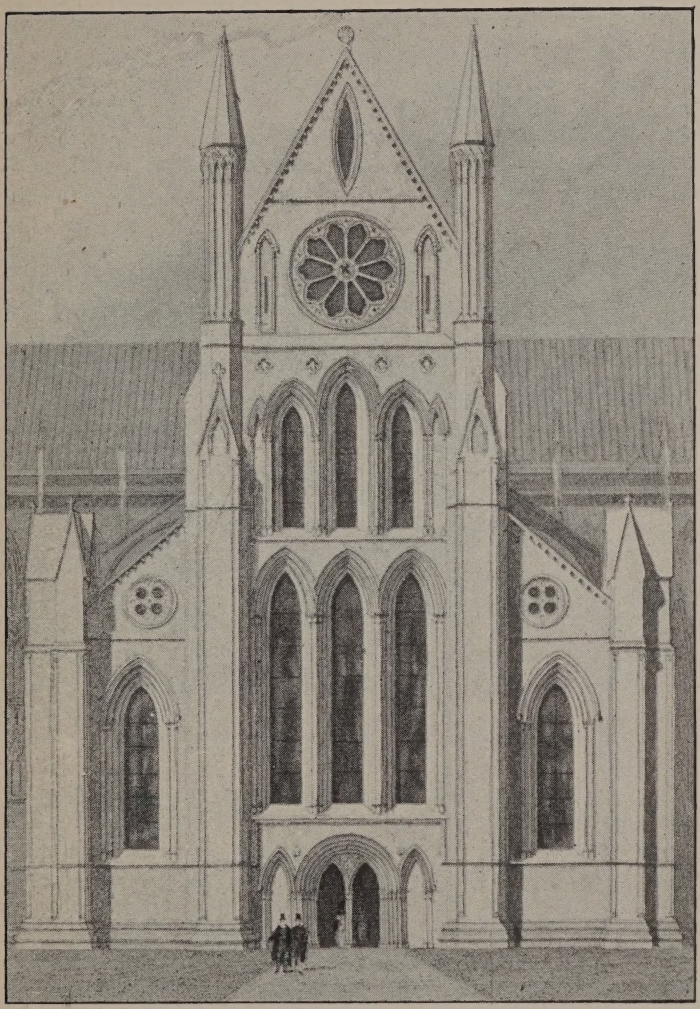
From Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]

THE NORTH PORCH.

sides of the church are connected with the clerestory by very beautiful flying buttresses, of which Professor Freeman says: "The flying buttresses rise from pedimented buttresses which have not wholly lost the character of pilasters, but which, as having the attached shafts at the angles only, look stronger and bolder than they do at Lincoln. The flying buttresses at Beverley, as most commonly in England, are simple but effective, placed lower than they often are. They thus add a new feature to the building; they tie together, as it were, the two stages of its height, without bringing in the complicated arrangements of the French flying buttresses—consequent on the vast height of the French churches—which often go far to hide the real lines of the building. The whole work of this period is a good example of that kind of fine common-sense which is a character of English architecture; there is a certain modesty and simplicity about everything; all is good and well-wrought, but without any excess of ornament. And there is no striving after unattainable things, as there so often is in the more ambitious buildings of France." The management of these flying buttresses is in agreeable contrast to the somewhat clumsy arrangement at Lincoln. The main buttresses, like those at York, have fine open niches, and terminate in elaborate pinnacles. The parapets, which run all round the church, were added about the time of the rebuilding of the nave. One of the most beautiful features of the north side is the porch which is entitled to a very high place amongst Perpendicular structures of the kind. After mentioning the fine example attached to the south-west tower of Canterbury, and the south porch of Gloucester, which is remarkable by reason of the beautiful variety of its outline, Rickman goes so far as to declare that, as a panelled front, the Beverley porch is perhaps unequalled. The effect of the whole is very rich, but it does not err on the side of over-decoration. The doorway has a fine double canopy, the outer being a triangle, and the inner an ogee. Both have well-designed tracery and crockets, and the outer one terminates in an ornate finial. On either side of the door are buttresses, which are broken by niches, and end in pinacles. Above the canopy the space up to the cornice is panelled, and the battlement is formed by rich tabernacle-work from the centre of which rises a dominating pinnacle with three niches. All the niches are at present empty, but those in the

buttresses will shortly be filled with figures representing the four patron saints of the Beverley parishes. In the central pinnacle, at the top, will be a small figure of an angel, and below that a statue of S. John Baptist. The niches of the battlement will be filled with representations of Christ and His Apostles. Over the porch is a small chamber (sometimes, with questionable accuracy, called the Parvise), the use of which it is difficult exactly to ascertain. Some writers have suggested that it was the bed-chamber of the porter of the abbey, whose duty it was to open the door to those who sought the privilege of sanctuary within the building. It may have been used as a muniment room or small library. It is worth while to note the contrast between the Perpendicular window west of the porch, and the Decorated window with flowing tracery east of it. The windows of the north aisle are later than those on the south side. Their tracery is different, and they exhibit some variety of design among themselves. The absence of geometrical tracery shows that a considerable interval elapsed between the completion of the Early English work, which extends as far as the first bay of the nave, west of the crossing, and the Decorated work which carries it on to the porch. We have now to consider the eastern parts of the minster, which are in the Early English style, and constitute the most precious features of the building.

The **Great Transepts.**—To anyone who is at all intimately acquainted with the transepts of York and Salisbury, a glance at the great transepts of the minster will suggest a comparison with them, and, at all events, so far as the transept fronts go, the palm must in fairness be awarded to Beverley. It is open to question whether anything more skilful, anything more felicitous, was ever designed in the Early English style. The north front generally resembles the south, but there are slight differences in matters of detail. The main features of the design are two triplets of lancets, one above the other. The members of the lower and larger triplet are of equal height; in the upper triplet the centre lancet is taller than the other two. The next stage has a finely-designed, round, wheel-shaped window. On each side of it is a niche. The upper part of the gable (on the south side) is pierced by a very narrow *vescica* or shuttle-shaped light. The buttresses are very graceful, and terminate in fine and lofty pinnacles. Owing to



THE SOUTH FRONT OF THE GREAT TRANSEPT.

the great space occupied by the tiers of lancets, it was imperative that the door should be small. In the north front a simple round-headed arch is used with blind-pointed arches on either side. The portal of the south front is more elaborate, and consists of a round-headed arch of five members, separated by a clustered column into two doorways, with a blind-pointed arch on each side. It is hardly necessary to remark that the presence of the round-headed arch does not indicate work of the period

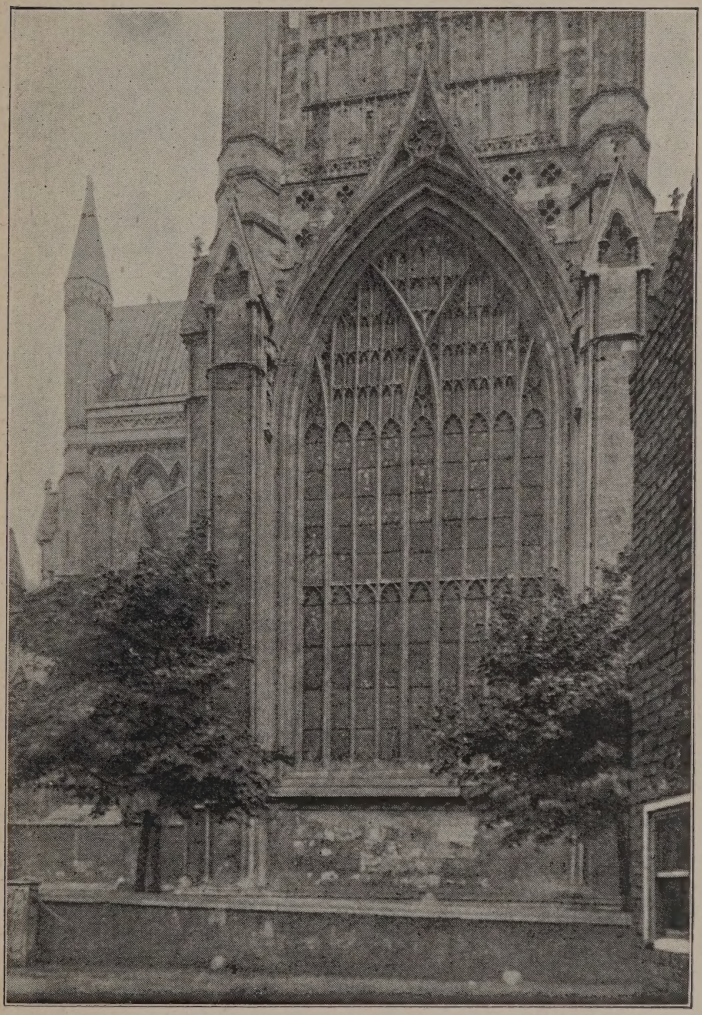
From Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]

SOUTH DOORWAY OF THE GREAT TRANSEPT.

of transition between Norman and the first pointed style. The round-headed arch here is a purely Early English feature, and has no reference to the preceding style. It may be observed that round windows, though they occur in the transept fronts of Salisbury as well as Beverley, are not by any means usual or prominent features in English churches. We meet with them at Westminster, but the Abbey is in many respects a French church on English soil. In the great French churches, and in those German ones influenced by French models, such as Strassburg, these round windows are introduced with great skill, and are often of amazingly intricate

pattern. The windows and other features of the clerestory and aisles of the transepts are pure Early English, dating before the middle of the thirteenth century. The buttresses are less ornate than those of the nave in the Decorated style, but they are dignified and impressive, and harmonise well with the later work. The aisles terminate in single-pointed windows, with round windows above them. In the design of all the parts of these transepts a remarkable simplicity, at once satisfying and decorative, is achieved. We feel that no detail could be added or omitted to the advantage of the whole.

The **Choir, East Transepts,** and **East End.**—A distinctive feature of Beverley Minster is the comparatively long distance which separates the great transepts from the smaller and more easterly transepts. It has been suggested by at least one capable critic that the design of the church would have gained in dignity and impressiveness if the east transepts had been left out altogether, but this is an opinion which, to the mind of the present writer, is unlikely to be extensively shared. It is not to be gainsaid that the east transepts are unusually narrow, but width is nowhere a characteristic of the building, and the scale of the smaller transepts is perfectly proportioned to that of the greater ones. So lofty are the east transepts that, from some points of view, they have the effect of twin towers. The composition of their fronts leaves little to be desired. Over a pair of lancets runs a beautiful blank arcade. In the next tier is a second pair of lancets, with a deep quatrefoiled circle above, the sides being ornamented with smaller quatrefoils. In the gable we have another pair of lancets with blank arches on each side, while still higher is a single lancet, likewise in the centre of blank arches. The gable terminates in a cross; the buttresses, which are plain and very light, end in large and solid-looking octagonal turrets with arcading round them. If these fronts are not absolutely of equal merit with those of the great transepts, "in any other company," as Professor Freeman says, "they would rank high. Both great and small transepts are thoroughly English; indeed, a feature so purely English as an eastern transept hardly could be otherwise." The wall of the north choir aisle, between the great and eastern transepts, is pierced with a doorway which leads to some ugly modern vestries, which are on the site



From Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]

THE EAST WINDOW.

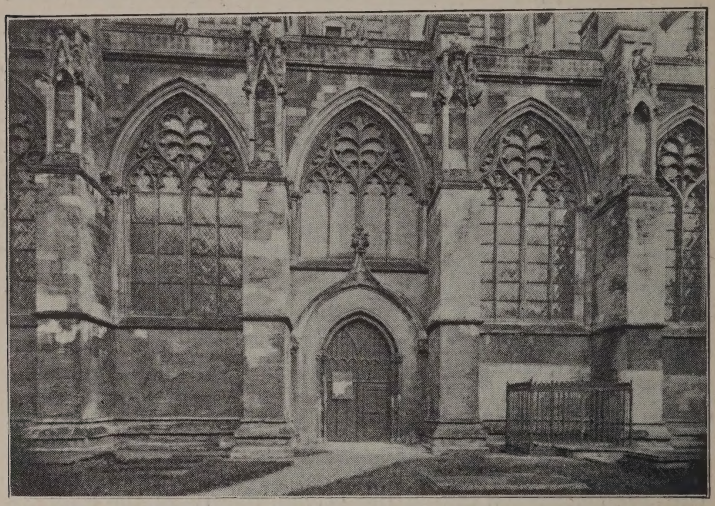
of the chapter-house and the vestibule by which it was approached from the interior of the church. "In 1890 some remains of this structure were found which enable us to recover its plan. The chapter-house was octagonal in plan, about 31 feet in internal diameter, and was placed immediately to the east of the north transept. The western wall of the chapter-house was very close to the wall of the eastern aisle of the transept, and the angle between the eastern and south-eastern faces of the octagon came nearly up to the north-west angle of the north-east transept. The chapter-house was approached by the staircase mentioned above, and its floor was about 8 feet above the floor of the choir aisle.* The building was two storeys in height, the lower, no doubt, serving as the sacristy as at Wells. This sacristy was entered from the choir aisle by a semi-circular arched doorway (the present entrance to the modern vestries) beneath the upper landing of the staircase. From this doorway a flight of steps led down to the sacristy floor, which was 5 feet 6 inches below the aisle floor level. The sacristy was vaulted from a central pillar. The whole structure was contemporary with and formed part of the design of the eastern arm of the church with which it was connected. It was sold and destroyed after the suppression of the collegiate church." †

During the fifteenth century alterations of some importance were made at the east end of the church, though these were scarcely sufficient radically to influence the general appearance of this part of the building. The east gable of the choir was partly reconstructed during the second decade of the fifteenth century, when a vast Perpendicular window of nine lights, which is almost flimsy through its want of solidity, was inserted. Above this is an ogee canopy, richly crocketed, and terminating in a crown. In the buttresses on the sides are niches with statues of S. John of Beverley and Æthelstan. Somewhat later, windows in the same style were put in the south choir aisle, and in the aisles of the eastern transept. The Percy Chapel was built in the north-east angle by the fourth Earl Percy, when the fifteenth century was drawing to a close. The transepts on the south side correspond very

* As to this staircase, see page 105.

† See Mr Bilson's paper in the *Trans. of the Architec. and Archæolog. Socy. of Durham and Northumberland*, vol. iv. part 2.

closely with those on the north. The exterior of the nave on the south side is somewhat more ornate than on the other. The flowing tracery of the windows is earlier in date, and exhibits less variety of pattern than on the opposite side. The place of the elaborate north porch is taken by a simple door under an ogee canopy. As we look at the south side from end to end we feel that Leland's unimpassioned phrase, to the effect that the church is "of a fair uniform making," is scanty praise for

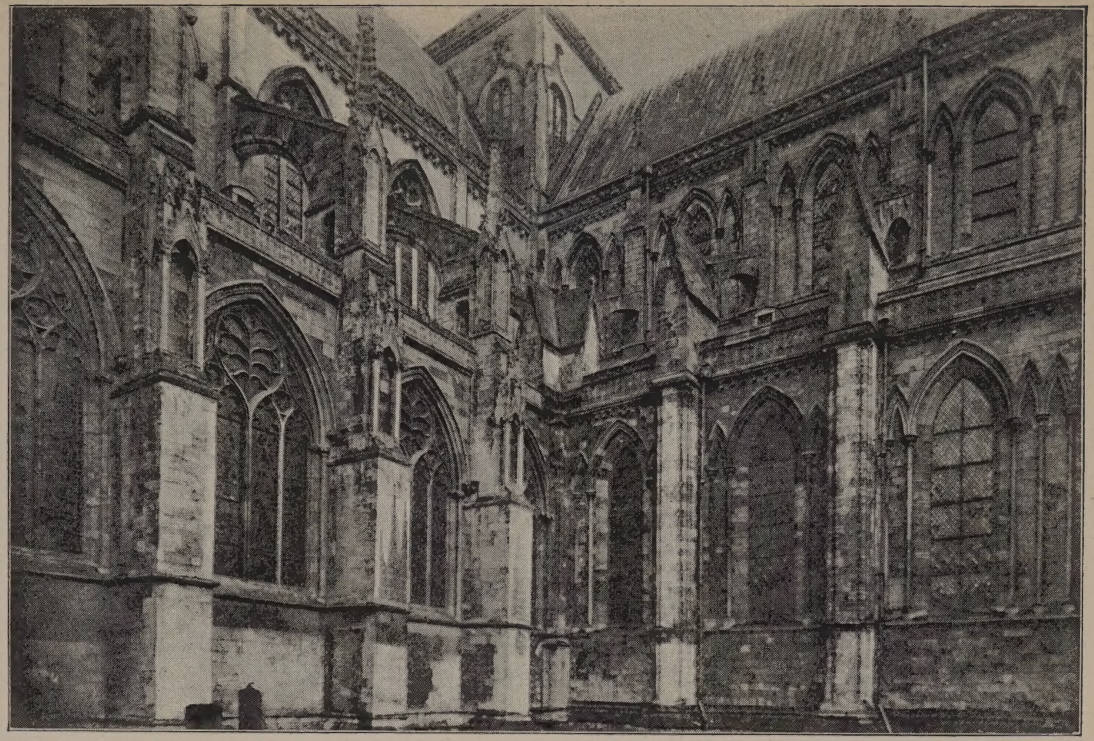


From Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]

THE NAVE, SOUTH SIDE.

this marvellous structure in which three distinct styles of English Gothic are so admirably and harmoniously employed.

The **Minster Yard** contains nothing beautiful or interesting. None of the tomb-stones are very old, but nearly all of them are very ugly. The inscriptions are rich in such phrases as "Reason, ah, how depraved!" "He was the man I loved, and over him I mourn'd"; "Beneath this stone an infant's ashes lie"; and the usual exhortations to the living to "make no delay lest they in their bloom be called away." Close to the wall of the south aisle of the nave is an upright stone to a woman



From Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]

THE NAVE AND GREAT TRANSEPT, SOUTH SIDE.

who was the victim of a railway carriage tragedy. It is dated 1853, and bears the following extraordinary inscription:—

"Mysterious was my cause of Death
In the Prime of Life I, Fell;
For days I Lived yet ne'er had breath
The secret of my fate to tell.
Farewell my child and husband dear
By cruel hands I leave you,
Now that I 'm dead, and sleeping here,
My Murderer may deceive you.
Though I am dead, yet I shall live,
I must my Murderer meet,
And then in Evidence, shall give
My cause of death complete.
Forgive my child and husband dear,
That cruel Man of blood;
He soon for murder must appear
Before the Son of God."

Leaning against the east wall of the north transept will be found three ancient stone coffins.

On the north side of the minster is the vicarage house. On the south side is a building called the Hall Garth, where the provost's court was held, a gaol being attached to it, of which there are still some traces left. There is no foundation for the local tradition that the Hall Garth is on the site of a house in which S. John of Beverley lived. To the north-east of the church are the grounds of what was once a Dominican establishment, with some remains of the ancient building. The place is still called the Friary. Several other spots near to the minster recall the period of Beverley's ecclesiastical importance.

CHAPTER III

THE MINSTER—INTERIOR

If the exterior of the minster produces on us an impression of unity so great that at first sight we are inclined to attribute the whole building to a single architectural period, we shall find that impression deepened and intensified the moment we gain the interior of the church. So consummate was the skill with which the later builders adapted their design to, and brought it into conformity with, the older work, that it requires more than casual observation to realise that we owe this exquisite structure to architects working in three different styles, separated from one another by considerable periods of time. At Beverley there is nothing to arouse that sensation of incongruity, so sudden as to be almost violent, which we experience when we see Norman work in juxtaposition to work in the Perpendicular, Decorated, or even advanced Early English style: there is no sudden transition from those immense Romanesque pillars, capitals, and arches, which are so simple and severe as to border on the archaic, to the miraculous intricacy of Late Gothic. The architectural development at Beverley, from the Early English east end to the Perpendicular west window is so gradual that it seems not to exist. The result is triumphant uniformity, though a uniformity which completely escapes the dead and uninspired mechanical. The effect of the whole interior is at once admirably ornate and serenely simple. At Beverley less than at most of our great English churches do we miss the multi-coloured glow of stained glass, the subdued and matchless hue of old tapestry, the splendour of mural paintings, and the magnificence which comes of the cunning use of sumptuous materials. Where we have form so entirely satisfying, and symmetry so admirably ordered, the absence of gorgeous colour does not make itself acutely felt. The minster escapes the charge of coldness which may fairly be brought against so many of our English cathedrals, stripped

From a Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]

THE INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST.

as they are of their mediæval adornments. On the other hand, it suffers nothing from the presence of those gaudy modern trappings which deface nearly all the vast Gothic churches of the Continent, and especially those south of the Alps. The interior of Beverley Minster is so light, so aërial, that, when the sunshine streams through the finely traceried windows, a glow is produced amounting to actual brilliance. In the eastern parts of the church the dark shafts of Purbeck marble are seen in sharp contrast with the pale stone of which the minster is built. As we stand at the west end and look east, the eye passes from the austere simplicity of the nave to the choir, in the decoration of which carved woodwork, amazingly wrought and marvellously intricate, has been lavishly employed. The building terminates fitly with the great east window, which, happily, is glazed with that jewel-like ancient glass, the secret of which, lost for so many generations, has only recently been recovered. And it is a matter of small moment from which point we chance to view the church. We need not concern ourselves to dodge the ugly, for there is no feature which fails to compose harmoniously with the rest.

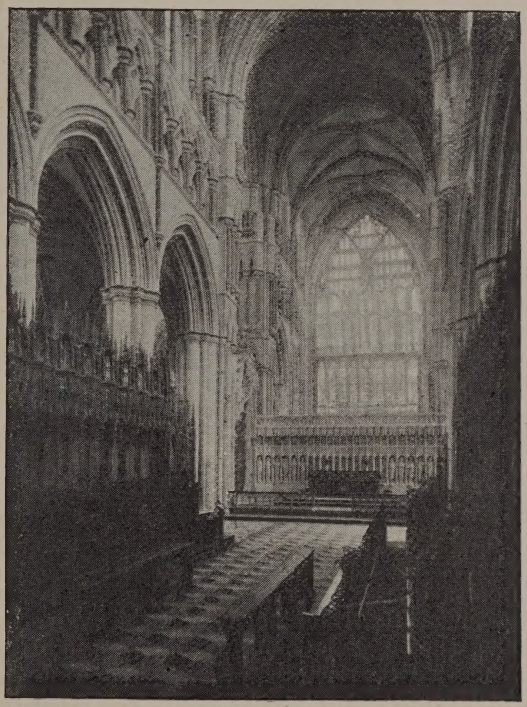
Astonished at the apparent size of the building, we shall be still more impressed by the feeling of height which it cannot fail to produce. It seems literally to soar into the air. English architects of old time were no match for, and perhaps did not seek to rival their French brethren in the erection of churches of astounding altitude. The French builder of the Middle Ages revelled in constructions of dizzy altitude, with the frequent result that, when we have left off gaping at his audacity, we begin to question the fineness of his taste. Sometimes we cannot help feeling that his passion for height leads him so completely to overstep the mark that he achieves, not the thing of beauty, but the *tour de force*. The designers of Beverley have gained the sense of loftiness by means so nicely adjusted that the evidence of effort is nearly suppressed. So skilfully has due proportion been suggested that any feeling of lankiness has been avoided, and the narrowness of the church in relation to its height is not obtruded on one. Nowhere is there an appearance of flimsiness. The building is the outcome of sober planning, and in no feature of its construction has fantastic experiment been allowed to run riot.

As we contemplate the interior of the minster, we at once recognise the essentially cathedralesque qualities of the building, qualities which seem to place it outside the pale of such magnificent monastic churches as Selby Abbey or Tewkesbury Abbey. And, in fact, Beverley surpasses not a few churches which are actually of cathedral rank. To compare with it the glorified parish churches at Newcastle and Wakefield, which at present serve as cathedrals, would be absurd. Nor in spite of lavish restoration, considerable additions, and costly decoration, is Manchester Cathedral for an instant comparable with it. S. Asaph and Bangor are unambitious though venerable. Llandaff is small, and in great part a new building. Ripon and Southwell, which once shared with Beverley the distinction of being *matres ecclesiæ* of the great diocese of York, have during the present century been made the sees of bishops. The ecclesiastical position of these churches and the scale of the fabrics themselves make it fair to compare them with Beverley. In spite of the fact that Ripon and Southwell have their full complement of towers, in spite of the archæological interest of the Saxon crypt of Ripon, and of the fine chapter-house of Southwell, it will hardly be contested that Beverley Minster is first in this trinity of great churches. The superiority of Beverley in the interior is specially marked. If, on the other hand, Beverley be compared to the "Queen of English Minsters," as Lichfield has not inaptly been called, the palm must be awarded to the Staffordshire church. And yet, in spite of its small scale, Professor Freeman has not hesitated to compare Beverley with its neighbouring giants, York and Lincoln, justifying his comparison in the following words:—"In comparing these three great churches I have perhaps gone into more detail in speaking of the smallest of the three. If so, it is the natural result of the fact that Beverley, as is not wonderful, has not drawn to itself so much notice as its two greater fellows. But it yields to neither in true beauty; and, if there is no part of the church now remaining to compare with the antiquity of some fragments of York and Lincoln, Beverley draws a very peculiar interest from the clearer account that we have of the buildings which went before the present church, and from the singularly late date to which the very early buildings survived. I do not at all feel that I have brought the minster of S. John into an unfair

competition, or matched it against adversaries in whose presence it is unable to hold its own."

The doors at the west end of the church are only opened on special occasions, the usual entrance being through the north porch, or by the south door opposite to it.

The **Choir.**—In order to appreciate the architectural



From a Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]

THE CHOIR, LOOKING EAST.

evolution of the church, it will be well at once to proceed to the eastern portions, since they are the earliest in date, and the general features of their design have prevailed throughout the more recent parts of the building in the Decorated and Perpendicular styles. The whole of the eastern parts, including

the choir, the retro-choir (sometimes called the chapel of S. John, and commonly and erroneously known as the Lady Chapel), the eastern transepts, and the great transepts, up to and including the easternmost bay of the nave, are Early English, and together constitute a magnificent example of that style at the period of its finest development and greatest purity. The only later features are the Percy Chapel and some details of the east end, including the great east window. The thirteenth-century work is unusually regular, and is set out with the greatest accuracy, the only departure from the original plan being at the eastern crossing, which will be discussed later on. According to Mr Petit, the Early English is of a somewhat advanced character, not that "its mouldings differ materially from those of the earliest period, or that the windows show any symptoms of the change that took place towards the end of the thirteenth century, for they are all plain lancets, a single one in each bay, without either division by a mullion, or any combination which might suggest the larger and more complicated window. But the arrangement of the whole shows a more perfect development of those principles which pervade the system of Gothic architecture than many, perhaps most, buildings of the same style. The piers between the choir and aisles, instead of presenting to the eye a series of slender shafts, exhibit a cluster of eight bold massive columns, suited to the position they occupy and the weight they have to sustain. For the sake of variety, those which face cardinally are round, the alternate ones being brought to an edge, and many of the round columns have the vertical fillet. The vaulting shaft springs from a bracket over the capital of the pier, and, at the string under the triforium, is tripled." The height of the vaulting shaft greatly influences the apparent height of the church. To the fact that the capitals of the vaulting shafts are placed above the base of the clerestory as at Westminster, and not at the level of the clerestory string as at Salisbury and elsewhere, the interior of Beverley owes not a little of its seeming altitude. Professor Freeman is a somewhat severe critic of the very simple and beautiful groined vault of the eastern parts of the church, objecting that the eye is first carried up to a great height, and then thrust down again. "In Beverley nave and choir," he writes, "the line

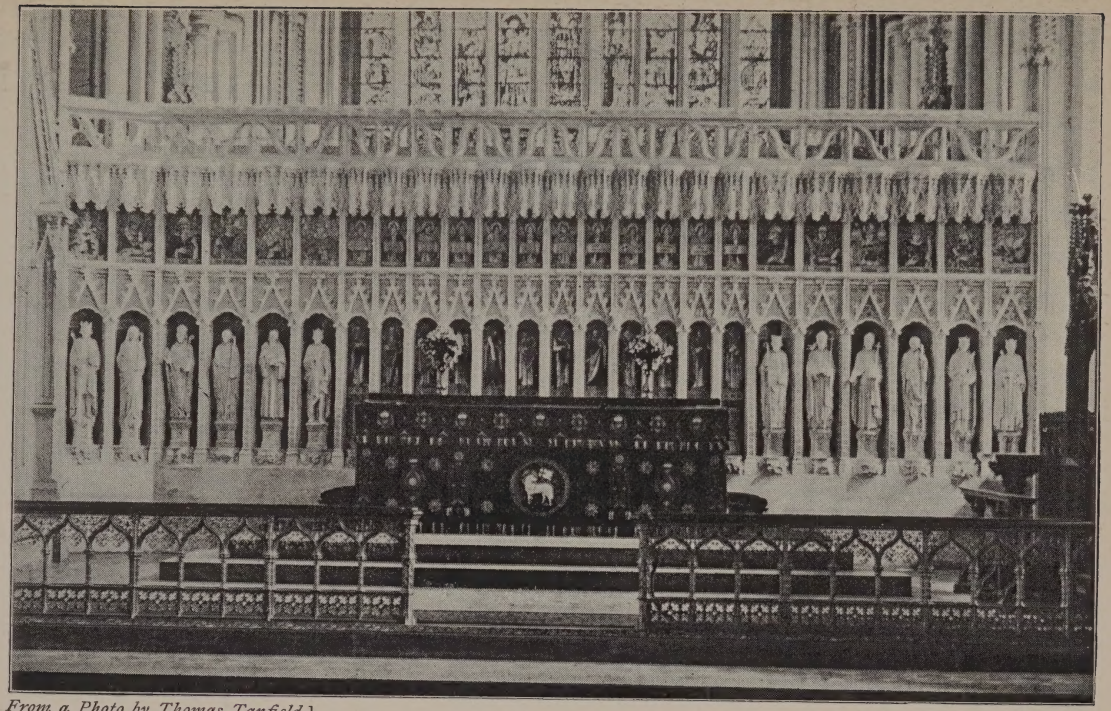
From a Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]

THE TRIFORIUM AND CLERESTORY.

of the vault, which ought to carry the eye up higher, does, in fact, thrust it down. The vault is so necessary a finish to a Gothic building, the wooden roof is so plainly a mere substitute for it, that we could not wish that any part of Beverley Minster had been finished with the inferior kind of roofing; still, it is possible that the mere effect of height, great as it is, is lessened by the shape of the vaulting. The bad effect of the low arch comes out most strongly at the east and west ends, by contrast with the far more pointed arches of the great Perpendicular windows. At the east end especially an awkward spandrel is left, which is but feebly filled up with panelling." It may be pointed out that the east window is an alteration which the designers of the vaulting could not possibly foresee. The Professor, however, is generous in his praise of the internal elevation. "The design of the internal elevation—the pier-arch, triforium, and clerestory—is well-made, as far as proportion is concerned. The great constructive arcades are thoroughly well proportioned, and keep their fitting supremacy; the smaller members above them keep their subordinate relation, at least as far as scale goes. And the division into bays is well made by corbelled shafts springing from the space immediately above the pillars. The work is everywhere fine, but without any great enrichment; there is nothing like the work in the presbytery of Ely, while the proportions seem better to suit the style than the proportions of Ely adapted to Romanesque neighbours."

The triforium is one of the most beautiful features of the church, and is remarkable by reason of its elaborate composition and its conformity throughout the entire building. In spite of its relatively small height, it performs the invaluable service of binding the composition of which it is a member together, and of materially reducing any tendency to lankiness. Although, being blind, it is a mere enrichment, and of no use as regards the services of the church or as a thoroughfare, one feels that the elevation would have been meagre if it had been omitted; nor could a band of decorative painting satisfactorily have taken its place. The triforium is properly treated as a feature subordinate to the arcade below it, and the clerestory above; it is an arcade which frankly proclaims that its sole duty is that of filling up space. It consists of four trefoil arches, ornamented with the dog-tooth pattern, which rest on

graceful clustered shafts standing free from the wall. Behind these is another row of simple shafts with pointed arches which touch the clustered shafts at their capitals. The tympanum over each of these is pierced with a sunk quatrefoil. In those parts of the church which belong to the thirteenth century black Purbeck marble is freely used with perhaps questionable effect. It is probable that the idea of the double arcade of the triforium is derived from the aisles of the choir of Lincoln Cathedral, which date between 1186 and 1200. Something has already been said in a previous chapter in reference to the construction of the triforium of the minster. In order to appreciate the point raised, it is absolutely necessary to go up into the passage over the vaulting of the aisle. To the finely conceived clerestory, which has a passage, due dignity and emphasis are given. The tooth ornament is lavishly used, and the shafts are of Purbeck marble. The bosses and other decorative details of the vaulting of the choir (coloured partly from indications of former decorations and in part from designs by Sir Gilbert Scott) are worth attention, the bay over the altar is covered with scroll patterns, among which are medallions with figures of the saints and the four evangelists. Beneath the floor of the choir is a well which is very frequently mentioned by the older writers on the minster, though the author of *Bervalac* makes no mention of it. Cox, however, writing in 1720, remarks that, "behind this seat (the frith-stool) is a well of water," while Oliver in his History writes: "An old book on topography, in my possession, without a title-page, says the freed-stool in Beverley has a well of water behind it." Gent, in a book published in 1731, gives fuller particulars: "I will mention what has been written to me of a well under the altar; 'tis supposed to have been so, tho' now filled up; and the probability of this further appears from a drain (which was found in the small south cross when the pavement was laid about three years ago), that proceeded from beneath the altar, forcing a current, as it were, directly south through the wall, and so into the minster yard." The well was discovered and opened in April 1877, and found to contain fragments of stone-work, richly carved and decorated with gilding and colour; probably these were parts of the reredos. Its depth is about 13 feet, and the diameter at the mouth is over $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet.



From a Photo by Thomas Tanfield.]

THE ALTAR SCREEN.

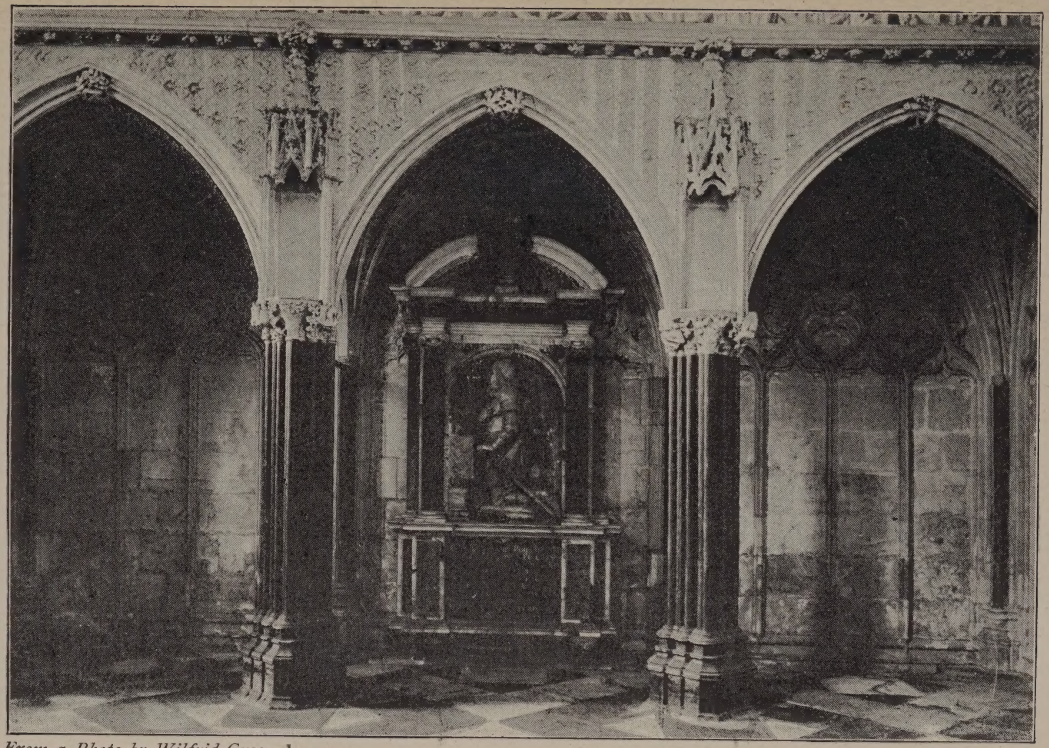
The choir is separated from the nave by the carved oak choir screen, from the design of the late Sir Gilbert Scott, which, in the opinion of his son, Mr J. Oldroyd Scott, is the most graceful thing he ever achieved. It is noteworthy that the work was executed throughout by James E. Elwell of Beverley, a carver in wood, whose productions are far above the average. The work, which cost about £3300, and was inaugurated in October 1880, takes the place of the "classical" stone screen of the last century, to which reference has already been made. The screen is surmounted, as is that at Chester Cathedral, also designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, by a cluster of organ pipes. This part of the work is unfortunately still in an unfinished state. The groined ceiling of the screen is supported by clustered columns, containing sixteen niches for small statues, while the hollows of the mouldings of the arches contain thirty-six places for smaller figures. In the parapet are six niches of comparatively large size, which are filled with figures of Æthelstan, S. Nicholas, S. Mary, S. John Evangelist, S. Martin, and S. John of Beverley. It may be remarked in passing that the multiplication of representations of S. John and Æthelstan in various parts of the minster threatens to become a trifle absurd. The metal choir gates were added in 1890, and were designed by Mr J. Oldroyd Scott, and executed by another Beverley craftsman, Mr. W. Watson.

Amongst the splendid fittings of the choir let us first examine the choir stalls and misericords. The choir seats are sixty-eight in number, and form a magnificent series of examples of ancient woodwork. They are arranged on either side in two rows from east to west. The front rows (*basses stalles*) of thirteen seats are raised a step from the floor, and the back rows (*hautes stalles*) of eighteen seats are raised a step higher. On each side there are three additional stalls in the back rows, which are at right angles to the west end. In ancient times there appear to have existed three rows of stalls or "forms," for, in ordinances drawn up in 1391 for the "government of the Collegiate Church of Beverley," Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of York, makes arrangements for the seating of the clerks, their masters or ecclesiastical superiors, and the choristers in back, middle, and front rows. At the date of the ordinances there were sixty-eight officers of the church, and at

the present day there are exactly sixty-eight stalls in the choir, of which forty-two are canopied. The existing stalls date from the early part of the sixteenth century, and were perhaps produced between the years 1520 and 1525. The lower portions with the misericords are more ancient than the superb mass of tabernacle work above. The projecting brackets, evidently intended for figures, which form the top of the first stage of the canopy, are a curious and unusual feature. The woodwork has undergone considerable alteration from time to time, and some of the peculiar carved heads in the canopy, representing divines in wigs and bands, were obviously added in Georgian days. Comparatively recent repairs have been very judiciously executed by Mr Elwell of Beverley, whose skill, as we have seen, is testified by the choir screen. The series of sixty-eight misericords is perhaps unequalled in point of number in this country. Lincoln Cathedral and Boston Church possess sixty-four each; Norwich boasts sixty-two; Winchester, Hereford, and Gloucester, have each sixty; while Exeter has fifty, Chester, forty-eight, Carlisle forty-six, and Chichester forty. The oldest misericords extant in England are those of Exeter Cathedral, which are of the thirteenth century. The Boston series dates from the end of the fourteenth century. The sixteenth-century misericords at Beverley, like those of Manchester and Bristol, are therefore comparatively late, though the construction of misericords was carried on up to the reign of Elizabeth, as is proved by post-Reformation examples at Brancepeth and elsewhere. Four of the Beverley misericords bear the names of the chancellor, precentor, treasurer, and clerk of the church respectively. The following description is taken for the most part from Mr T. Tindal Wildridge's *Misereres of Beverley Minster*, a valuable work which is copiously illustrated. Commencing at the west end of the south side of the upper row of the stalls we have:

1. The Archbishop's Stall.—A pelican feeding its young with the blood of its own breast. In Sketon's "Armoury of Birds" we read:—

> "Then sayd the Pellycane,
> When my Byrdts be slayne,
> With my Bloude I them revyve,
> Scrypture doth record,
> The same dyd our Lord,
> And rose from deth to lyve."

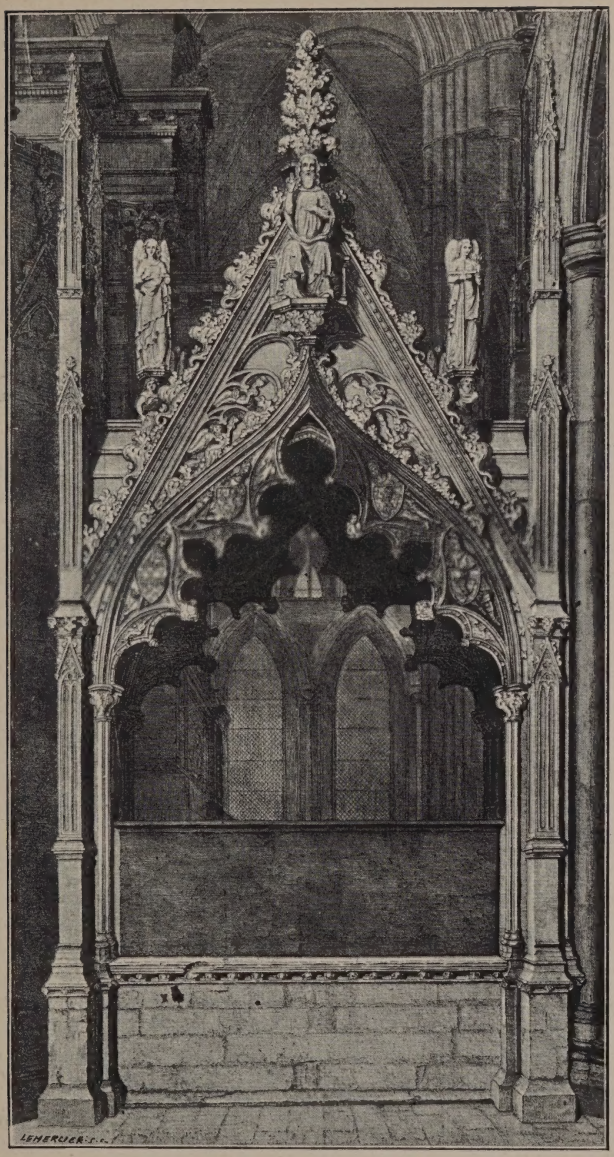


From a Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]

THE ALTAR SCREEN, EAST SIDE.

On the left, an eagle; on the right, pelican picking up a serpent. 2. An ape on horseback, followed by a man armed with a club; left, a monkey combing a cat; right, boy riding a pig. 3. Winged demi-angel holding a heart; fruit and foliage on either side. 4. Punning heraldry with motto; left, a man lifting weights; right, man with scales and weights. 5. Fight between lion and dragon; left, monkey nursing a child; right, ape with bottle. 6. Apes attacking a pedlar; left, ape among foliage; right, ape chasing a cat. 7. Same arms as No. 4; either side, a man lifting weights. 8. Conventional foliage of much merit. 9. Figures with domestic utensils; either side, fruit and leaves. 10. Men pulling a wheelbarrow, to which is tied a bear; left, man muzzling a bear; right, man and bear embracing. 11. A man playing bagpipes (?), a man astride a ram; left, a shepherd; right, two rams charging each other. 12. Fantastic shield of arms; left, pelican and young; right, a doe sat on a tun. 13. Two men with muzzled bear, and a third with a wheelbarrow; left, huntsman with dog; right, bear licking its paw. 14. Dead deer, huntsmen and hounds; left, huntsman and dog; right, huntsman with puppies, blowing a horn. 15. Huntsman with dogs attacking bear; left, man training a monkey; right, bear dancing to bagpipes played by monkey. 16. Horseman leading three muzzled bears; left, muzzled bear; right, monkey holding dog and pretending to use him as bagpipes. 17. Man between winged dragons whose tails entwine him; left, man stabbing snail; right, man with his head in a sack. 18. Old sow playing bagpipes, to which young pigs dance; left, a hog saddled; right, sow playing on the harp. These carvings probably allude sarcastically to the decline of the minstrels, of whom, as we shall see later on, there was once a flourishing guild at Beverley. 19. Fox run to earth by hounds, and shot at by archer; left, fox ridden by a monkey; right, sick fox in bed being nursed by a monkey. 20. Fox and geese subject. 21. A beautiful arrangement of bramble-fruit and foliage. 22. Three jesters dancing; left, jester with staff and bladder; right, jester with pipe and tabor. 23. Demi-angel; left, grapes with foliage; right, rose with foliage. 24. Dragon-headed bird, with a human face carved on the breast; left and right, dragons. 25. A woman beating a man, whom she holds by his hair; an animal meanwhile is stealing from a cauldron; left, woman grinding at a handmill; right,

boy chopping sausages. 26. A continuation of the last. The woman is being led to the ducking-stool for punishment; left, man lifting a beam; right, woman holding a puppy. 27. A cock crowing (the emblem of S. Peter); left, a bird; right, cocks quarrelling on a barrel. 28. A grotesque head; either side, a leopard's head with protruding tongue. 29. A man fighting a dragon; either side, fruit and foliage. 30. A boar hunt; either side, conventional roses. 31. Shield of arms; either side, a bird with motto on riband. 32. A man on a horse which is harnessed to a cart. This is much damaged; left, cow licking itself; right, cow being milked by a woman. 33. Man warming his hands at a fire while another chases a dog who has stolen a piece of meat; left, scullion washing platters; right, boy turning up his breeches. 34. Combat between two monsters, one with a human face; left, long-headed monkey with pole (Mr Wildridge says: "It is the cynocephali (*simia uinus*) or dog-headed monkey; the variety which the Egyptians regarded as sacred"); right, a salamander (?). 35. Grotesque mask with foliage coming from mouth; left, man cutting wood; right, conventional leaves. 36. Fox hanged by geese (this is a very interesting example); left, fox and sleeping geese; right, a monkey takes the rope from the neck of the dead fox. 37. Deer browsing; either side, similar subjects. 38. Hawking subject; left, dog with bone; right, cock. 39. This is described by Mr Wildridge as: "Fox in friar's gown, with rosary in his paws, preaching from a lectern to a congregation of seven geese. Behind him is stood a monkey, with goose on a pole; to extreme left, a fox runs off with dead goose on his back"; left, an owl; right, man shoeing a goose. 40. Representation of "The unicorn whose horn is worth a city"; either side, foliage. 41. Man fighting lion; either side, lions passant. 42. A stag-hunting scene; left, gentleman on horseback; right, a doe. 43. A much damaged representation of Satan pursuing a lost soul; left, the devil encouraging a miser; right, the devil encouraging a glutton. 44. Fruit and foliage. 45. Owl with mouse. 46. Storks eating from jar; either side, a stork. 47. Cat catching mice or rats; left, a cat playing the viol to dancing mice ("Hey! diddle, diddle! the cat and the fiddle!"); right, cat tossing a mouse in its paws. 48. Hare riding; on the left, an archer shooting at rabbits on the right. 49.

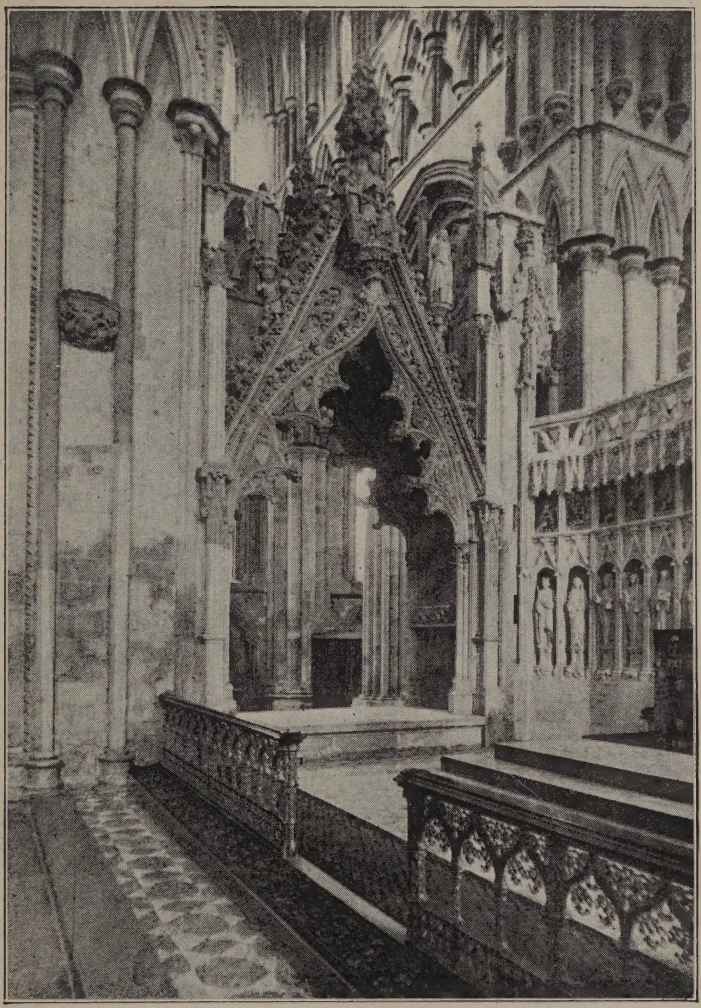


THE PERCY TOMB, FROM AN ENGRAVING IN GOUGH'S "SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS."

Lion and deer; left, crowned lion couchant; right, unicorn couchant. 50. This is of much interest. Mr Wildridge explains it as follows: "A carving representing a quarrel between two sculptors or carvers, who are shown at half-length, clothed in tightly-fitting leathern jerkins. From the character exhibited in the faces, these may be judged to be an attempt at portrait, possibly of the artists of this set of misereres. The two half-length figures in the sides are engaged in the cabalistic movements known, I think, as 'taking sight' at each other." 51. Mermaid and fish; left, large fish seizing smaller one; right, three fishes interlaced. 52. Foliage. 53. The only scriptural subject treated in this set of carvings. The allusion is to Numbers xii. 23: "And they came unto the brook of Eschol, and cut down from thence a branch with one cluster of grapes, and they bare it between them on a staff"; left, vine leaf and tendril; right, leaf and grapes. 54. Two lions couchant; either side, conventional flowers. 55. An elephant driven by an ape; left, a camel; right, a lion laughing. 56. Hen and chickens; left, cock; right, hen with chickens under her and one on her back. 57. Foliage. 58. Heads of fools or jesters. 59. Dragons fighting; either side, a bird. 60. Owl attacked by small birds; either side, a hawk. 61. Grimacing face; either side, a goose. 62. Two birds on a jester's head, at which they peck; left, a goose; right a swan. 63. A lion with prostrate man; left, dragon; right, griffin. 64. Bird subjects. 65. Branch of rose tree with Tudor roses; either side, Tudor roses. 66. Hawking subjects. 67. Combat between naked figure with spear and man with sword; either side, foliage. 68. Two lions couchant; left, a hog; right, a hawk. There are many other interesting details in the carving of the stalls which will repay careful attention.

The **Altar Screen**, or reredos, was erected during the reign of Henry III., probably about the year 1330, with a view to secure the services in the ritual choir from interruption by the pilgrims who crowded to the shrine of S. John. On the top is a gallery (approached by a staircase turret), with carvings of Æthelstan and S. John at the head of the Percy Tomb, which "would probably contain a diminutive 'pair of organs,' possibly a rood; and behind the rood a cell of carved woodwork for the watcher of the shrine." The eastern face of the screen, of which more will be said hereafter, remains

nearly as it was left by those who built it, but the western front has been less fortunate. The design was of two separate stages, each having twenty-four niches or panels. Those on the lower stage had crocketed pediments, while those on the upper one were surmounted with Tabernacle work, and terminated in an open battlement. At the time of the dissolution of the Society of S. John the statuary was demolished and much of the carving mutilated. At a later date all that remained was covered over with plaster, on which were painted the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, in the taste prevalent at the time. At the beginning of the eighteenth century an arrangement of Corinthian pillars (supporting a triumphal arch surmounted by a gilded eagle) in oak was erected in front of it, and remained in its place until the year of Waterloo. The study of a large number of fragments of the old reredos, which had been fortunately preserved, induced Mr Comins, the master mason of the minster, to propose to the trustees an exact reproduction of the ancient work in its entirety. The task was soon begun, and in 1826 it was brought to a satisfactory conclusion. This restoration, or rather reconstruction, stopped short at filling the twelve niches with figures, and decorating the thirty-six panels. The void has now ceased, owing to the generosity of Canon Nolloth, who has completed the work as a memorial to his father, the late Commander Henry Ovenden Nolloth, R.N. The twelve niches have been filled with statues of King Lucius, S. Hilda of Whitby, S. John of Beverley, Berethum, the Venerable Bede, Æthelstan, Eborious, S. Gregory the Great, S. Augustine, S. Alured of Beverley, Ethelburga, and Edwin, king of Northumberland. The whole of these are by Mr Hitch of Vauxhall, who executed the figures in the altar screens of New College, Oxford, and Truro Cathedral, as well as many statues for Peterborough, Lincoln, and other cathedrals. The work was superintended by the late J. L. Pearson, R.A. The niches are lined with coloured mosaic, a treatment for which a precedent is to be found at Ravenna and elsewhere in Italy. The flat panels over the altar are filled with mosaics in glass, representing the twelve apostles. In the twenty-four panels of the upper stage are represented illustrious persons, intimately connected with the history of the minster in the same material. "The vermilion and gold diaper of the



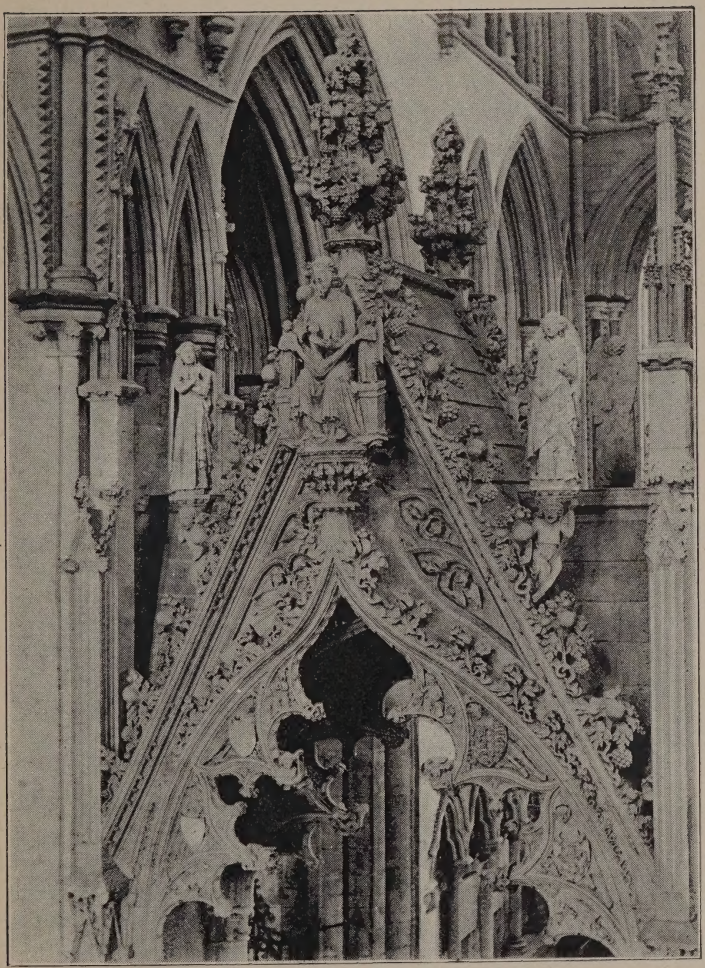
From a Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]

THE PERCY TOMB.

ground," says Canon Nolloth, "is a reproduction of the ancient pattern, which was discovered by carefully washing a piece of the old stonework." The mosaics are fine in colour, and have been executed by Messrs Powell, who are at present engaged in the decoration of the interior of S. Paul's Cathedral, under Sir W. B. Richmond, R.A. The altar table is new and of oak, and takes the place of a stone one presented by John Moyser about the year 1718. The brass communion rails are likewise modern. The sanctuary is paved with marble of various colours, the portion over the well being arranged so that it will take up. The sedilia on the south side of the sanctuary are worthy of notice as good examples of woodwork of the Curvilinear period. They have lately been carefully repaired. The pulpit is modern, and of no particular merit. The brass lectern is exceptionally massive and handsome, and of good design. It was placed in position in 1880 as a memorial of Canon Birtwhistle, who was incumbent curate and vicar of the minster from 1844 till his death in 1879. In 1867 he was made a canon of York, and was appointed to the prebendal stall of Bilton.

On the north side adjoining the altar screen stands the **Percy Tomb**, often inaccurately called the Percy Shrine, which is incomparably the most magnificent of the monuments in the interior of the minster. It is of the finest period of the Decorated style, and by reason of its sumptuous ornament not only excels any specimen of the kind in England, but, as Professor Middleton states in his article on Sculpture in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, it "stands unrivalled by any Continental example." The tomb has frequently been attributed to the wrong person, but it is now settled beyond all dispute that it is a memorial to Eleanor Fitz-Allan, wife of Henry, first Lord Percy of Alnwick, who died 1328. This work was probably erected between the years 1336 and 1340, though some writers have suggested that it is of later date. It is fully described in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, and four plates are devoted to its illustration. The tomb itself is of grey marble. Above it rises an ornate canopy of freestone which is a miracle of exquisite Decorative carving. The slab of the monument once had brasses representing a female figure under a single canopy with finials, round which were fourteen shields and a ledge, doubtless with an inscription.

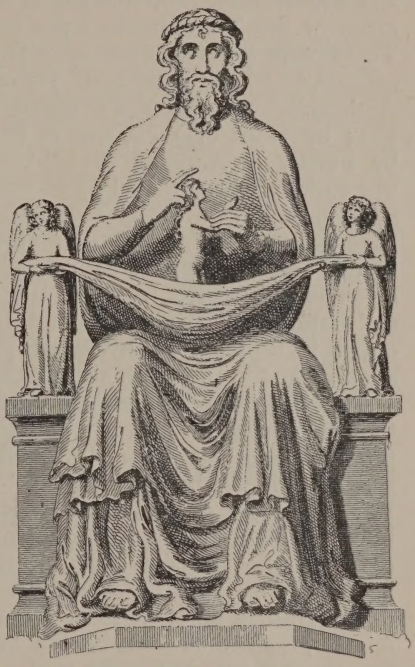
All these have disappeared, and nothing remains save the incised spaces which they formerly occupied. The outermost member of the gable of the canopy is profusely crocketed with oak leaves, and terminates in an elaborate finial. Within the gable is an elaborate ogee arch formed of three demi-quatrefoils, and terminating in a finial of oak leaves, on which is placed (on the north side) a seated figure of Our Lord, His hand raised in the act of benediction. The fingers of the other hand point to a wound in the side. On either hand, standing on brackets, supported by crouching human figures, are two statues of angels. That on the left holds the cross and nails; that on the right has one hand on the breast, the other having been destroyed. The spandrels between the triangle and the ogee are decorated with angels with censers paying homage to the Deity above. One of the heads of these angels was broken off and sent to America. After remaining there for twenty-eight years, it was returned to Beverley, and put in its proper place, which it exactly fitted. The spandrels within the ogee are occupied by representations of four knights in armour bearing shields. "The figure of the Deity repeated on the south side of the finial or terminating bouquet has the right hand in the attitude of benediction on the head, and holds in His left the elevated hands of the lady to whom this monument belongs, and who is held in a sheet resting on His knees by angels on each side." This carving is very curious, and should be carefully studied. The place of one of the knights in the spandrels on the south side is taken by a lady, described by Gough as being "in the full habit of the times, her coeffeure open at the sides, but the veil of it flowing, and gathered at the top of the head into a high *fleur-de-lis*, a neckerchief close round her neck, a high-breasted gown with long tight sleeves, and close gathered at the feet, and over it a mantle fastened with strings to a jewel in the breast. The shield in her hands is of mere diaper work, with a chequè and a chief Az." The fact that the carving of these figures is in no wise archaic or grotesque renders them especially valuable to the historian of ancient costume, civil and military. On every part of the canopy, both outside and inside, a wealth of decorative detail has been lavished, and in every part extravagance alike in conception and execution has been most scrupulously avoided.



From a Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]

THE CANOPY OF THE PERCY TOMB.

One of the brackets representing a lion fighting with a dragon is specially remarkable for its vigour. The four corners of the canopy terminate in lofty pinnacles, which are richly decorated, and give an appearance of lightness to the structure. It may be noted in passing that the fine collection of casts at the Crystal Palace, which illustrates the history and evolution of Gothic architecture and sculpture in England, is without a reproduction of the Percy Tomb. The circumstance is thus referred to in an old edition of the "Official Guide" to the Palace: "In England, wherever application has been made, permission—with one exception—has been immediately granted by the authorities, whether ecclesiastical or civil, to take casts of any monuments required. The churchwardens of Beverley Minster, Yorkshire, enjoy the privilege of being able to refuse a cast of the celebrated Percy Shrine, the most complete example of purely English art in our country; and in spite of the protestations of the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Northumberland, Archdeacon Wilberforce, Sir Charles Barry, and others, half the churchwardens in question insist to this hour upon their right to have their enjoyment without molestation. The visitors to the Crystal Palace cannot, therefore, as yet see the Percy Shrine." In addition to its surpassing merits as a great work of art, the Percy Tomb has the advantage of surroundings entirely dignified and appropriate, occupying as



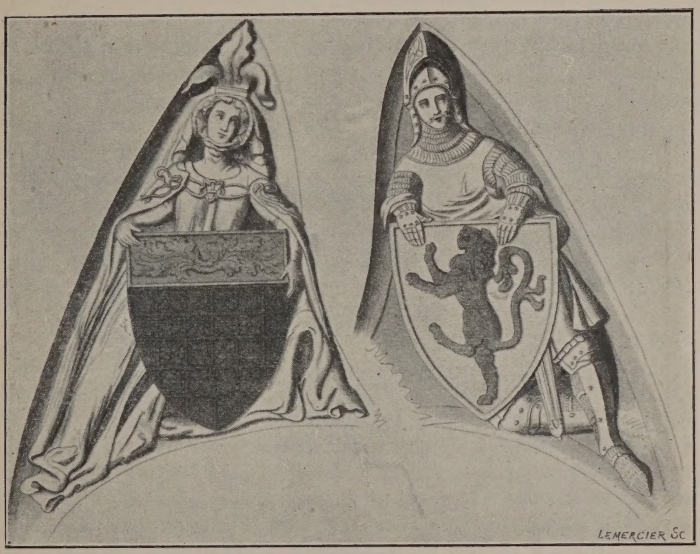
Detail of the Percy Tomb, from an Engraving in Gough.

it does a place between the fine altar screen and the elaborate stalls of the choir.

The **Organ**.—In old inventories of the goods of the minster we find mention made of "a pair of organs." In 1767, a comparatively large instrument was built by Snetzler, and a musical festival, believed to be the first of its kind held north of the Trent, marked the occasion of its inauguration. There were performances of "The Messiah," "Judas Maccabæus," "Samson," and Handel's grand "Coronation Anthem." To Snetzler's organ additions were made in 1824 by Ward of York, and in 1847 it was further improved by Forster & Andrews of Hull. In 1885 the instrument was entirely reconstructed by Messrs Hill & Sons of London at an expense of nearly £3000; and recently further additions have been made, so that it is now one of the finest organs in the kingdom. Elaborate musical services are frequently given in the minster, amongst the most notable being one to celebrate the Queen's Diamond Jubilee. The wind for the organ is supplied by hydraulic pressure. The large pipes are arranged in the south aisle of the choir.

The **Eastern Transepts**.—The eastern intersection of the church constitutes an extremely difficult architectural problem, and has been discussed over and over again by capable critics who have failed to come to any agreement. In such a book as the present it is out of the question to go into the highly technical arguments which the piers of the eastern crossing have called forth, but a few words must necessarily be said on the subject. These piers are of a design entirely different from those of any other part of the minster, and thus constitute a break in the prevailing uniformity of the Early English work. "Instead of being carried up in continuous lines from the base to the spring of the arch, they are broken by horizontal strings into a series of stages, which project forwards as they ascend, and are terminated by a truncated cluster of columns, having a capital similar in its character to those in the other parts of the edifice. This intersection has, like the rest of the church, a vaulted roof; and the toothed ornament appears in its diagonal rib; but on the east face of the wall over the western arch we find the remains of Early English work, now shut out by the vaulting, but which seems intended originally

to have been open to the choir. That this work is in its original position, and not to be accounted for by the working up of old materials (of which instances occur over the walls of the clerestory), is evident from the fact of its being symmetrical, the composition being the same on each side of the crown of the arch; it consists of a shaft at the angle,

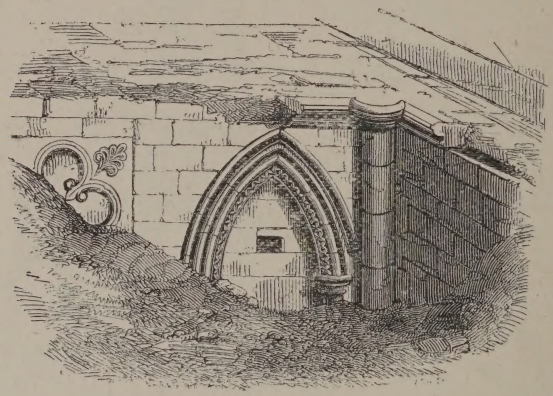


DETAILS OF THE PERCY TOMB, FROM AN ENGRAVING IN GOUGH.

running up to a string-course; an Early English arch, enriched with the toothed ornament, on shafts and capitals; and what I take to be a portion of a quatrefoil, much of which is built in the vaulting. The capital of the shaft supporting the arch corresponds (in its profile) with those in the clerestory of the great transept."

In a note to the above remarks of Mr Petit, Professor Willis suggests that "the church was originally intended to be finished at the point where the eastern transepts now begin, and the masonry shewn in the cut (which illustrates Mr Petit's paper, and is reproduced here) is part of the eastern gable

wall and projecting buttress, which was meant to form its east extremity." With this view Mr Bilson absolutely disagrees, and on the face of it Professor Willis's contention is hardly probable. Mr Bilson suggests that there was an intention to construct an open lantern over this crossing, but remarks that "before the wall over the eastern arch was built, this intention must have been abandoned, and the crossing was vaulted at the level of the choir and transepts." The eastern transept has an aisle on the eastern side only, resembling Salisbury in



REMAINS IN THE ROOF.

this particular rather than Lincoln, where there are apsidal chapels and no aisles.

The lower walls of the eastern transept at Beverley are lined with an Early English arcade of beautiful design. This is continued round the *retro-choir* (sometimes called the Lady Chapel), the centre of the north and south wall of which is filled by a narrow lofty lancet with a blank arch on each side. In the eastern wall is, of course, the great east window, a Perpendicular insertion which has points of similarity with the east window of York Minster. It is glazed with large fragments of very fine stained glass of the Early English and Perpendicular periods, which have been collected from various parts of the building, and are arranged here with some modern additions. Below this window is a Wharton monument which

greatly disfigures the chapel. The shrine of S. John of Beverley probably stood in front of this chapel, as we have already seen. The back of the altar screen which faces the entrance to the chapel consists of three arches on clustered shafts. Above these are niches with exquisitely delicate carved canopies. It is particularly fortunate that this side of the screen escaped the destruction which befell the other. The Percy Chapel is in the angle between the retro-choir and the north-east transept. It dates from the end of the fifteenth century, and contains the tomb of Henry Percy, fourth Earl of Northumberland, who was murdered in his house at Maiden Bower, near Topcliffe, in 1489. Gough states that the place of his assassination was Cock Lodge, near Thirsk, and adds that the expenses of his funeral were "£1510, os. 8d.; in modern money, £12,080, 5s. 4d." The east window of the chapel was probably moved from the aisle-wall when the chapel was built, and is earlier in date than the chapel itself.

Near to the north-east transept is the frith-stool (*frith*, free, *stol*, seat), or sanctuary chair. It is so rude and plain that it is no doubt of early date, but it has not improbably undergone repairs after injuries, which it may have suffered at the hands of the Cromwellian soldiers. The Beverley seat lacks even the simple decoration of the top of the Hexham frith-stool, the only other chair of the kind still remaining in Yorkshire. The register of the Beverley sanctuary is contained in the MS. Harl 4292, and embraces part of the reigns of Edward IV. and Richard II., and part of those of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., a period extending from about 1478 to 1539. It is reprinted in the publications of the Surtees Society in the volume entitled "Sanctuarium Dunelmense et Sanctuarium Bevellacense," issued in 1837. In different churches the privilege of sanctuary was of different extent. At Durham, for instance, it was confined to the church and churchyard, while at Beverley it appears to have extended for a mile in all directions round the minster. Within the mile were six boundaries, in all of which violation of sanctuary was punishable, the penalty being increased as the frith-stool was approached. The outward and second boundaries were marked by crosses richly carved; the third commenced at the entrance of the church, while the sixth included the high altar and the frith-stool itself, and afforded the most

effective immunity from capture. Spelman states that the stool had the inscription: "HAEC SEDES LAPIDEA FREEDSTOLL DICITUR I.E. PACIS CATHEDRA, AD QVAM REVS FVGIENDO PERVENIENS OMNIMODAM HABET SECVRITATEM." If a malefactor reached the altar or frith-stool, he was practically secure from his pursuers, for no fine could atone for his capture within the inward and most sacred limits. At Beverley, offenders in the sanctuary were treated with exceptional kindness. Their food was provided for them in the refectory for thirty days, and if they were persons of consequence, lodgings in the precincts were also found for them. "At the end of the time their privilege protected them to the borders of the county; and they could claim the same security a second time under the like circumstances. But if anyone's life was saved a third time by the privilege of sanctuary, he became permanently a servant of the church." The oath imposed on each person seeking protection, included fidelity to the Archbishop of York and ecclesiastical authorities of the minster. Further, the suppliant was to "bere gude hert to the Baillie" of the town, "to bere no poynted wepen . . . agenst the Kynge's pece," to be ready to help to quell disputes and extinguish fires, to do his "dewtye in ryngyng," and to assist in the performance of certain religious ceremonies. A fee of two shillings and fourpence seems to have been payable to the bailiff, and fourpence to the clerk at the time of taking the oath. The following is a specimen of the form of entry in the register:—"John Spret, Gentilman, Memorandum, that John Spret, of Barton upon Umber, in the counte of Lyncoln, gentilman, com to Beverlay, the first day of October .he vij yer of the reen of Keing Herry the vij. and asked the lybertes of Saint John of Beverlay, for the dethe of John Welton, husbondman, of the same town, and knawleg (acknowleged) hymselff to be at the kyllyng of the saym John with a dagarth (dagger), the xv day of August." Most of the entries are in Latin. Of the crimes committed, thirty-five are described as indefinite, one hundred and seventy-three are murders and homicides, and fifty-one felonies. There are two hundred and eight debtors, six coiners, and there is one case of horse-stealing, treason, and receipt of stolen goods. The list of those who sought sanctuary includes all sorts and conditions of men, amongst them being tylers, skinners, litsters (dyers),

From a Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]

STAIRCASE IN THE NORTH CHOIR AISLE.

weavers and websters, shearmen, chapmen, literates, minstrells, penners, pewterers, vintners, pouchmakers, singing men, fustian shearers, esquires, and gentlewomen. The privileges of sanctuary were considerably curtailed in the reign of Henry VIII., and taken away altogether by the statute 21 James I. c. 28.

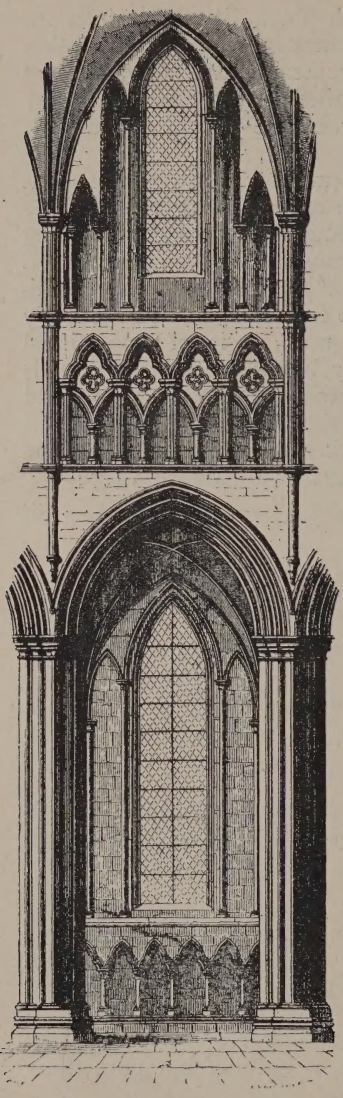
In the north aisle of the choir, midway between the great transept and the east transept, the arcade below the windows is ingeniously arranged to form a double **Staircase,** ascending from both sides to a double doorway, which gave access to the chapter-house.* This is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful details in the minster, and as fine staircases in the Early English style are comparatively rare, it is of exceptional interest. A semi-circular doorway below the landing of this staircase leads to the modern vestries on the site of the old sacristry. The lower contents of the sacristry may be judged from the following extract from an inventory of the goods of the minster, dated the "xxth daie of August, 6 Edward VI.":—

"Thre chaleses weighing xxxvj ounces iij quarters iij coporaxis.
vij alter clothes, vij towelles, one blew cope of velvet.
One blewe cope of silke.
One blake cope of vorsted.
One suyt of read vestmentes of saye for prest, deacon, and subdeacon.
One suyt of blewe vestmentes for the same.
One suyt of blake vestmentes for the same.
ij litle alter clothes.
ij candlestekes of latyne.
One loker for the sacriment with ij pypes of everye, one with litle silver, the ole and creme in a stampe of latten, and the oyntment in a boke covered with lether.
ij crewettes of tynne."

In the south choir aisle are preserved some interesting fragments of sculpture and other curiosities connected with the church, as well as a few old prints of the building, and an ancient MS. already alluded to.

The **Great Transept** is beautifully proportioned to the main body of the church, and in it nothing but pure Early

* See p. 63.



Bay of South Transept.

English work is to be seen. The size of the piers at the intersection is ample evidence that a great central tower was intended. The girth of one of these piers is 30 feet 4 inches, and the distance between two opposite ones is a little over 21 feet. At Salisbury, it may be noted, the girth of the piers under the steeple is 27½ feet, and the distance between two opposite piers 28½ feet. The vaulting over the intersection at Beverley may have been put up at the time of the building of the present low tower: it is, at all events, later than the rest, and has the transverse and longitudinal rib. The great transept at Beverley, differing in this respect from Salisbury, Lincoln, and most other great English churches, has an aisle on both the eastern and western sides, and this completeness gives it great dignity. As is the case in the choir, Purbeck marble is freely used. In the sparing use of ornament, amounting almost to severity, the Early English parts of Beverley resemble the Cistercian work of Yorkshire in general, and of Fountains Abbey in particular. The two tiers of lancets in the transept ends are, owing to their simplicity, as effective internally as they are externally. In the north arm only the central light of the lowest window is glazed with

stained glass. In the south arm the tall lancets above the window were filled with glaring Jesse glass, by Hardman, in 1857. Close by is an emblematical painting on wood in which Æthelstan is represented in the act of giving a charter

DETAILS OF A MONUMENT OF AN UNKNOWN PRIEST IN THE GREAT TRANSEPT, FROM DRAWINGS BY W. H. LORD.

of privileges to the church, personified by the figure of S. John of Beverley. It bears the words:

Als fre make I the
As hert may thynke or Eyh may see.

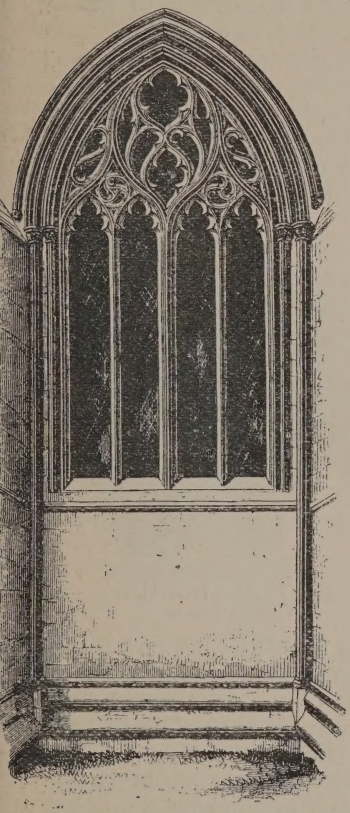
It dates from the time of James I., but it may have taken the place of an older picture.

Monuments in the Great Transepts.—In the eastern aisle of the north arm of the great transept is the tomb of a priest, who is represented in his mass vestments, which are

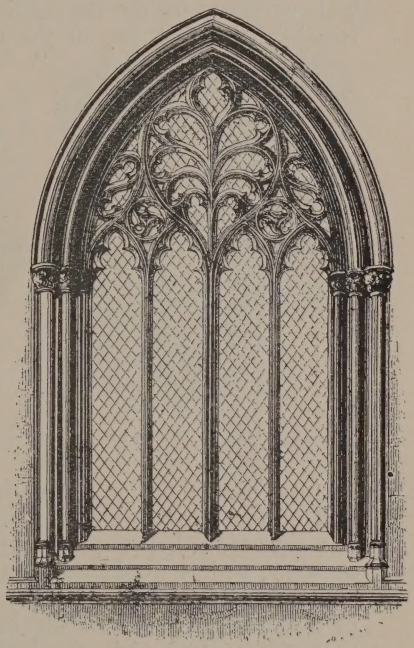
profusely embroidered with armorial bearings. The effigy, which is described and illustrated in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, has never been certainly identified, but it belongs to the fourteenth century. The head rests on a double cushion supported by cherubim. The feet are placed on a lion, the sides of the tomb being ornamented with niches, a cast of which is in the collection at the Crystal Palace. The monument is sometimes pointed out as that of George Percy, sixth son of Henry of Northumberland, and grandson of Hotspur. There seems to be no reason for associating the tomb with George Percy, who was, however, a canon of Beverley. In the same aisle is another mediæval effigy which is likewise unidentified. It has been suggested that it is that of a wealthy merchant. Not far away are the fragments of what was once an altar in dark marble. An old brass to Richard Ferrant, with a rhymed inscription and decorative border, may also be noticed. Another brass forms a memorial to Lieutenant-General Sir Harry David Jones, G.C.B., who served with distinction in the Walcheren, Peninsula, Cadiz, and Crimea campaigns, and died in 1844. There are also some monuments to members of the Hatton family, and a brass has recently been put up to George Doyle, "a life-long student of Gothic architecture," and a benefactor of the minster choir. In the south arm of the transept a brass commemorates Caroline Mary Hanks, through whose timely warning a fire, which broke out in the roof of the choir of the church in 1889, was extinguished before serious damage had been done. There is a large monument to Major-General Barnard Ford Bowes, who was killed while leading the forlorn hope to the assault of the fortress of La Mercia, Salamanca, on the 23rd of June 1812. The General, it may be noted, is also commemorated in S. Paul's Cathedral.

The **Nave**.—The Early English work extends to and includes the bay of the nave, arcade, and triforium next the great crossing. In the first place let us observe a structural peculiarity which, though scarcely perceptible when we look at the minster itself, can at once be appreciated by glancing at an accurate ground plan of the building. The plan will at once show us that the corresponding bays of the nave on the north and south sides are not exactly opposite one another.

It has been suggested that this irregularity was intentional, but what possible end it could have in view it is not easy to see. In his article in the second part of the fourth volume of the



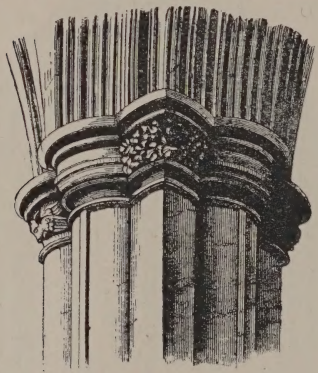
WINDOW IN THE NORTH AISLE.



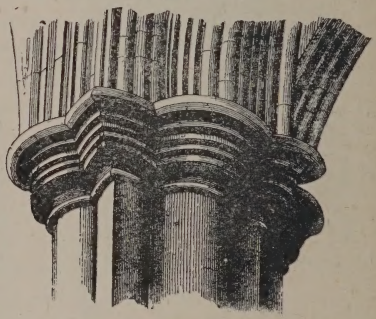
WINDOW IN THE SOUTH AISLE.

Transactions of the Architectural and Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland, Mr Bilson gives the following explanation of the matter:—"In searching for the reason of this irregularity in the spacing of the nave bays, we notice, first, that the pair of arcade piers immediately west of the crossing, which belong to the thirteenth-century work, are exactly

opposite each other, and that the difference in width between the bays on the north and south sides is most marked in the second bay west of the crossing, which is the easternmost bay of the fourteenth-century work, and is considerably narrower than the other bays of the nave. The explanation is simple. The fourteenth-century builders commenced their work with the wall of the south aisle. The clear width of the eastern bay between the wall of the transept aisle and the first buttress is equal to the clear width between the buttresses of the next bay. This accounts for the narrowness of the second bay from the crossing (the first bay of the aisle), for the first (thirteenth



Decorated Capital of Pier in Nave.

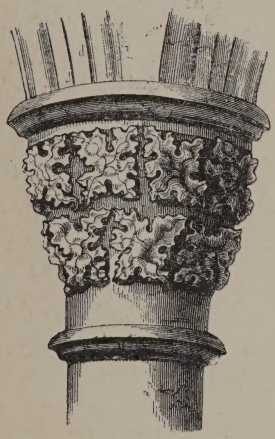


Early English Capital of Pier in Nave.

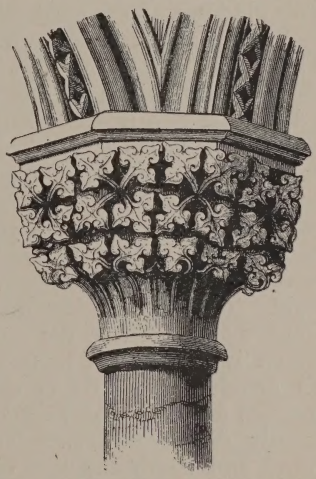
century) pier of the arcade stands a little farther west than the wall of the transept aisle. When the wall of the north aisle was commenced, the greater part of the nave would still be standing, and it would consequently be impossible to lay out any through cross lines. The clear width of the first bay of the north aisle (between buttresses) was made equal to that of the south aisle, the builders overlooking the fact that the thirteenth-century angle buttress, which they left unaltered on the north side, was 10 inches less in width than the altered angle buttress on the south side. This initial error of 10 inches was further increased by some 3 inches in each bay, with the result that, in the bay opposite the porch, the pier on the south side is fully 2 feet farther east than that on the north side, as can readily be seen from the oblique

line of the transverse rib of the nave vault. Here the error was evidently discovered, no doubt because they were now able to get a cross line, and the irregularity was partly rectified by slightly reducing the width of the three western bays on the south side." This account is of necessity somewhat technical, but it is at the same time so clear that anybody who will take the trouble to look at the structure itself, and consult the ground plan of the church when he reads it, will have no difficulty in understanding it with ease.

It was doubtless the intention of the Early English archi-



Capital in the South Transept in Arcade.



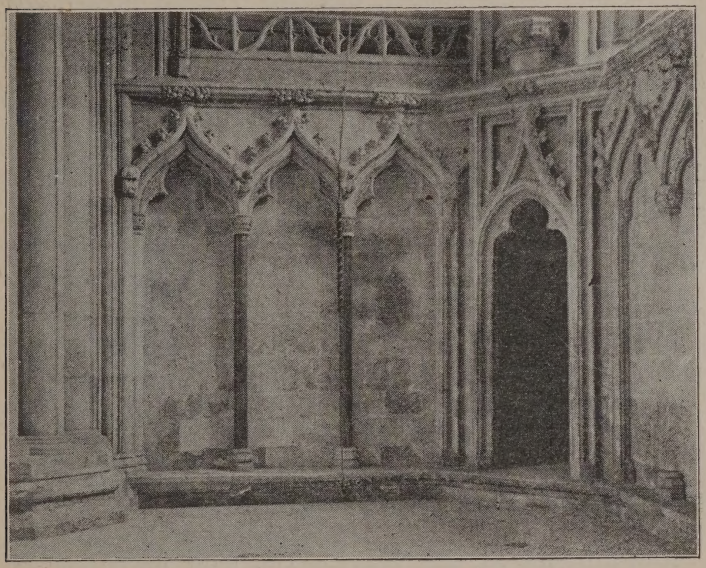
Capital, West End of North Aisle in Arcade.

tects to complete the minster from end to end, but their proposal was destined not to be carried out. Their successors, however, although they practised the art of building at a time when the Early English style had developed into the Decorated, were either so impressed with the beauty of the work of their forerunners, or their sense of symmetry was so keen, that they "adapted" their design to that of the thirteenth century as closely as possible. In looking at the nave it is difficult to keep in mind the fact that an interval of considerably more than three-parts of a century elapsed between the building of the bay next the crossing and the bays to the

west of it. Examples of this conformity to the main features of an old design are by no means rare, but here the adaptation is singularly complete. And yet the Decorative work is in no sense imitative. The ornamental details are distinctly characteristic of the later style. The ball-flower moulding takes the place of the dog-tooth, excepting the triforium; the use of Purbeck marble is discontinued; the capitals in the main arcade have foliage; while in the clerestory one of the little arches on either side disappears. The wall of the south aisle is somewhat earlier in date than that of the opposite aisle. The windows of the north aisle are different in tracery from those of the south, and vary in design amongst themselves. The wall arcade below the windows is a very beautiful feature, the details of which are worth close attention. On the south side the arcade is Early English in all but date; that in the north aisle is later, and has rich ogee arches, with curious figures at the intersection. At the west end the Decorated ceases abruptly, the stoppage being due to the Black Death of 1349 and the following years. The change to the Perpendicular style is most noticeable on the north side, where the work west of and including the north porch is entirely in that style. The space below the magnificent Perpendicular west window is pierced by the west doorway with an ogee canopy which is surrounded by two tiers of niches, below which is an arcade. The doors themselves are old, but ungainly modern figures of the four Evangelists have been added, and greatly disfigure them. The western terminations of the north and south aisles, as we have already seen, of necessity differ from one another.

The great **West Window** consists of 107 compartments of which seventy-one lights of irregular shape form the upper portion. The rectangular part of the window is composed of two rows of nine lights of considerable size, separated from each other by a transom which contains thirty-six small compartments. The stained glass with which the window is glazed was inserted at a cost of about a thousand pounds in the year 1859, the expense being defrayed by public subscription. The work was designed and executed by Messrs Hardman & Co. of Birmingham, a firm who carried out much of the best work of Welby Pugin and his contemporaries. In looking at the Beverley window it is only just to remember

that it was produced long previous to the revolution in the art of manufacturing stained glass, which we owe to William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones. The glass is good enough of its kind and for its time, but its time was one in which colour in glass was scarcely under control. In the centre of the nine compartments above the transom is S. John of



From a Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]
NORTH-WEST CORNER OF THE NAVE.

Beverley in full ecclesiastical vestments. On the right are groups representing the marriage of Edwin of Northumbria with Ethelburga. On the left, the subject dealt with is the baptism of Edwin by Paulinus. In the outer light is the figure of Coifi with his broken idols at his feet. In the centre of the row of lights below the transom is Æthelstan. To the right in three lights is represented the Synod of Arles held in 314, and attended by three British bishops, including Eborius. Archbishop Thurstan, who in 1100 granted the first charter to Beverley, is in the light beyond. The three lights on the

left of Æthelstan are devoted to the consecration of S. John of Beverley as Bishop of Hexham. The last light on this side represents Archbishop Nevile, who gave Westwood Common to Beverley. In the interstice lights between the two chief rows are depicted the early provosts of the minster. In the upper part of the window are representations of early archbishops of York; Wickliffe and Coverdale, with their bibles; prebendaries of the minster, including Thomas Becket and Robert of Northburgh (A.D. 1325); and twelve ancient kings of Northumbria. Lastly, come the emblems of the four Evangelists with the sacred lamb surmounting the whole. In the west window of the south aisle the subject of the stained glass is Gregory noticing the English youths in the slave-market in Rome. It was inserted in 1870. A year later, the corresponding window of the north aisle was filled with a representation of S. Augustine and his followers, including the newly converted king and queen of Kent. These two windows were the gift of Mr and Mrs J. W. T. Cleaver. The easternmost window of the south aisle of the nave was filled with fairly good glass (reproducing some of the ancient work in the great east window) in 1877 as a memorial to Canon Birtwhistle, some time vicar of the church. This window, together with those which succeed it on the west, are by Hardman & Co. A specimen of Messrs Clayton & Bell's more recent work will be found in the north aisle. It was inserted in 1885 to the memory of Sir James and Lady Walker. Close by is another window presented as a memorial of Admiral Duncombe by his widow.

Monuments in the Nave.—The most interesting of these is a canopied tomb of the fourteenth century which bears no inscription. It is not without resemblance to the Percy Tomb in the choir, but, in spite of some beautiful details, cannot be compared with that magnificent work. It will be found near the south door. Tradition assigns it as the burial-place of two maiden sisters who presented the town with pieces of common pasture. These legendary ladies inspired a versifier with some lines which first appeared in the *Literary Gazette* and had a certain vogue in their day. The following may be taken as a sample of them :—

> " And many a chaplet of flowers is hung
> And many a bead told there,

And many a low-breathed pray'r ;
And many a pilgrim bends the knee,
At the shrine of the Sisters of Beverley."

The monument is always described locally as the Maiden Tomb, but there are no facts to justify such a name. Gough simply says of this monument: "Between two pillars of the south aisle is an altar-tomb, without figures or inscription,

From a Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]
ARCADING IN THE NORTH AISLE OF THE NAVE.

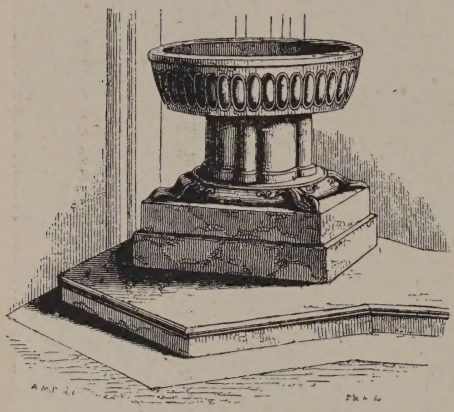
said to belong to two virgin sisters, who bequeathed certain lands to the freemen of Beverley to put in three milch cows from Lady Day to Michaelmas."*

In the arcading of the south side is a tablet to John Dilmas, who was ensign in the 27th regiment in 1813. It is stated that he bore the colours of the regiment in the Battle of Waterloo. A white marble slab commemorates twenty-three non-commissioned officers and men of the East Riding regiment who died on service in Afghanistan in 1880, and a brass will be found to officers and men of the 7th battalion

* Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 313.

of the East Yorkshire regiment who died on foreign service in various parts of the world between the years 1885 and 1895. The remains of S. John of Beverley rest in a small vault in the floor beneath the second boss of the roof of the nave from the great transept.

The **Font** near the south door is of Frosterley marble. It measures 44 inches in diameter and is 13 inches deep. It is Late Norman in character and very plain; but no date can be assigned to it with accuracy. Over it is suspended an inappropriate canopy of elaborately-carved oak. The large figures close to it represent S. John of Beverley (by some writers described as Pope Gregory the Great) and Æthelstan. They were part of the decoration of the Georgian choir-screen.



The Font.

Before quitting the minster of S. John, the fine view of the church from end to end should be seen from the little gallery under the great west window which is reached by the staircase in the south-west corner of the nave. The impression which it leaves on our minds is one of rare symmetry and dignity, and as we see it we wonder that a style of architecture in which such a miracle of grace and proportion was wrought should at any time have been dubbed barbarous. In mere point of size Beverley Minster is exceeded by most English cathedrals; in the crowning virtues of simplicity and restraint the beautiful fabric yields to none other in England or elsewhere.

CHAPTER IV

A NOTE ON THE CHURCH OF S. MARY

It is a somewhat striking fact that, looking to the vast amount of writing devoted to the architectural monuments of Yorkshire, the church of S. Mary at Beverley has received comparatively little attention at the hands of recent authorities. The present writer has failed to discover any adequate account of the building in the antiquarian literature of the last few years, nor has he succeeded in finding an accurate plan of the structure. This brief note is not for a moment to be considered in the light of an attempt to supply the deficiency, but, looking to the intimate relation between S. Mary's and the minster in past times, it has been deemed advisable to include in this handbook a short description of the former without raising any of the numerous difficult archæological problems which an exhaustive history and analysis of the building would involve. If S. Mary's is not entitled to a place in the very first rank of Yorkshire churches, if it is not the peer of Selby and Howden, it is no mean companion to them in point of magnificence and interest; indeed some of its enthusiastic admirers have not hesitated to claim for it equality with the minster itself. Such a claim cannot for a moment be maintained. The minster, so far as the structure goes, is to all intents and purposes a cathedral church. S. Mary's is simply a parish church, magnificent of its kind, but a parish church after all. Its perfect fitness as such is by no means the least of its striking merits.

Of the original foundation of S. Mary's we possess no documentary evidence, and we are little inclined to employ conjecture which Poulson, with a frankness not always characteristic of the local historian, describes in this connection as "the last resource of ignorance, and much oftener wrong than right." Oliver, in his *History of Beverley*, supposes S. Mary's to have been an ancient Saxon chapel, and follows

Leland in surmising that it was renewed by Thurstan. He adds, that in 1297 a "corrody was conveyed to it by William de Buttiler." It appears to have been a chapel-of-ease to S. Martin's, one of the parochial churches of Beverley, which stood on the south side of the minster, and to have remained such up to the year 1325, when it was constituted a separate vicarage by an ordinance of Archbishop Merton. To the new vicarage are assigned the tithe of all "crofts, gardens, and orchards belonging to the prebendary of S. Martin's or his chapel of S. Mary; also of all marriage pennies, and of fishing, with vigils and oblations of the dead, namely, mortuaries, with the tithe of eggs, geese, ducks, pullets, pigeons, pigs; with the tithe of wool and lamb, white goats and calves; with the oblations of the principal festivals," and five marks sterling per annum in addition. In return, the vicar was to provide two chaplains, one to celebrate daily at S. Martin's altar in the minster, and the other at the altar in S. Mary's chapel.*

Early in the reign of Henry IV. a royal licence was granted for establishing a religious guild, called the Guild of Blessed Mary, in connection with the church, the endowment of which steadily increased as years went by. Chantries, amongst which were Gervas's Chantry (created about 1388) and Kelk's Chantry, were also founded in the same way as they were in the minster.

In the year 1512 a portion of the church, perhaps the tower, fell, an occurrence of which our only record is to be found in an inscription on one of the pews in the nave, of which the following is part:—

"Pray God have mace of al the sawllys (souls) of the men and wymen and cheldryn whos bodys was slayn at the faulying of thys ccherc (church) . . . thys fawl was the 29 day of Aperel in the yere of our Lord 1512." Prayers are also asked for the souls "of ser Recherd Rokkysbe Knycht and daym Jone his wife whych gave two hundreth poundes to the building of thys ccherc."

In 1667 the rectory of S. Nicholas was united to the vicarage of S. Mary. The ancient parish church of S. Nicholas, it may be noted in passing, is supposed on very slight grounds to have been originally built by S. John of Beverley and destroyed by the Danes. It was subsequently rebuilt, but

* Poulson's *Beverlac*, p. 725.

BEVERLEY, WITH S. MARY'S CHURCH, FROM AN OLD PRINT.

very little is known of its history, though, in 1693, the steeple must still have been left standing, for a record exists that in that year the Corporation of Beverley obtained from the Archbishop of York permission to use the materials in the repair of other churches in the borough. No trace of the old church of S. Nicholas (commonly called the Holme Church) remains, but a new one, consecrated in 1880, has been erected on a piece of land close to the original site.

The dimensions of S. Mary's are stated by Oliver as follows:—Length of the nave, 100 feet; breadth, with aisles, 61 feet 3 inches; length of the chancel, from the gates to the altar, 76 feet; breadth of the chancel, without the side aisles, 25 feet; breadth of the north aisle of chancel, 17 feet 10 inches; breadth of the south aisle of the same, 14 feet 10 inches; height of the tower, 99 feet; square of the same, 32 feet.

The impression produced by S. Mary's church is one of rare beauty. Solid, though ornate, the building seems at first sight to be in a single style, but this, as we shall see, is far from being the case. It is cruciform in shape and is admirably symmetrical, the whole being dominated by the central tower, which binds the various parts of the church together and adds great dignity to the whole. S. Mary's has not, of course, escaped the restorers, amongst them being Sir Gilbert Scott, who carried out important works in 1863; but it has suffered less at their hands than most buildings with which they have had to do. The **West Front** was erected late in the reign of Edward III., and is amongst the finest examples we have of the architecture of the period of transition between Decorated and Perpendicular. The most imposing feature of the front is the great window of seven lights which is true Perpendicular. Above it is a parapet with a gabled niche, which contains or contained a figure of the Virgin. On each side of the window the octangular buttresses, which divide the front into three parts, terminate in pierced pinnacles with open parapets, somewhat similar to those of King's College, Cambridge. These belong to the Late Decorated rather than the Perpendicular style; the mouldings are distinctly Decorated in character. The west doorway, which is earlier than the window above it, though somewhat small, is recessed in four mouldings and very richly ornamented. The windows in the

ends of the aisle are Perpendicular; above them are open parapets. The buttresses at the south-west and north-west corners terminate in three pinnacles, the north-west buttress being richly panelled. The **Tower** which rises over the crossing is very massive, and is an excellent example of a Perpendicular central tower. In its first stage it has a circular window on each side with curious tracery, a somewhat unusual feature. In the second stage are four light Perpendicular windows, to which clocks are affixed on the south and west sides. The tower is completed by a panelled battlement, from which rise sixteen graceful pinnacles. The vane on the south-west pinnacle is said to be the last design of Pugin the elder. The bold projecting double buttresses at the angles add much to the dignity of the tower, which contains a peal of eight bells, and the clock with Westminster chimes. The oldest of the bells is dated 1599. The great bell was re-cast at York, in October 1700, by Samuel Smith. It weighs 19 cwts. 1 qr. 13 lbs.

A remarkable feature of the exterior is the south doorway with its **Porch**, in which we meet with an extraordinary mixture of styles. The semi-circular inner arch is Norman, and has characteristic ornaments, the outer arch being Early English. The porch itself is Perpendicular, with buttresses and pinnacles. The entrance to the porch is very rich, with an elaborate ogee canopy, crockets, and finials. On each side is a somewhat large niche, now empty. Rickman described it under the heading of "Decorated English Porches," and devotes a whole page to its illustration. The **Nave** is Perpendicular. Crocketed pinnacles rise from buttresses between the windows (which are large and have fine tracery) and from the battlemented canopy. The walls of the lean-to aisles also terminate in a battlement, and are pierced with windows with elaborate tracery. It has been suggested that the buttresses of the aisle were once joined to the clerestory by flying buttresses. The north door is Early English, of very simple design. The **Transept**, like the nave, is Perpendicular, and its details are similar. In its construction old materials have been largely reworked. The huge flying buttresses against the south front were erected in 1856 from the designs of Pugin. They form a singular, though effective and rather picturesque expedient to support this part of the structure, which was found

From a Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]

S. MARY'S CHURCH, BEVERLEY.

to be in an unsafe condition. The buttresses end in large crocketed pinnacles. The **Chancel**, though earlier than the nave, is similar in character to the rest of the church. On the north side, which has been less restored than the other, are

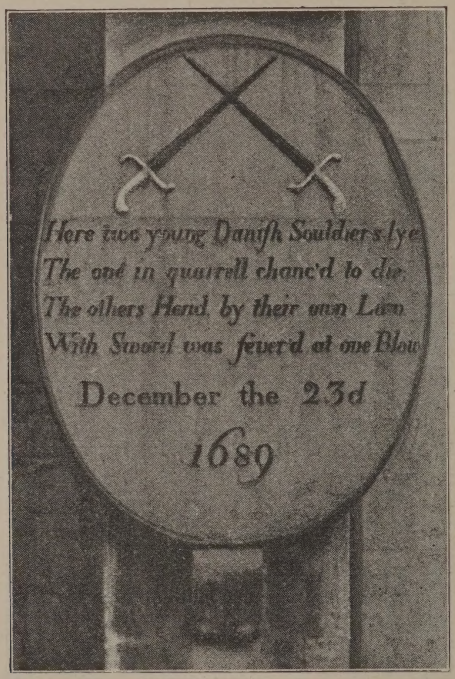
From a Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]

S. MARY'S. THE SOUTH PORCH.

two chantry chapels. The flamboyant windows are worth notice. The great east window is of five lights. On the exterior south wall of the choir, between the two most westerly windows, is an oval tablet with two swords crossed above, and below the following inscription :—

Here two young Danish Souldiers lye,
The one in quarrell chanc'd to die;
The other's Head by their own Law,
With Sword was sever'd at one Blow.
Dec. 23, 1689.

After the arrival in England of the Prince of Orange (after-


Here two young Danish Souldiers lye
The one in quarrell chanc'd to die
The others Head by their own Law
With Sword was sever'd at one Blow
December the 23d
1689

From a Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]

S. MARY'S. TABLET ON SOUTH WALL OF CHOIR.

wards William III.) a number of Danish soldiers were landed at Hull for his service, and marched to Beverley. In the parish register are the following entries:—"1689, Dec. 16, Daniel Straker, a Danish trooper, buried. Dec. 23, Johannes Frederick Bellow (beheaded for killing the other), buried." It has been suggested that this is probably the last instance of this form of capital punishment in England, and shows that

the Danish troops were exempt from English law, civil or military. The burial-ground attached to the church contains little which is of interest. Inscribed on a brass on a small upright tombstone (to Adam Keningham, whitesmith, who died 20th April 1813) against the eastern wall of the churchyard is the following variation of the well-known sledge and anvil epitaph :—

My *Sledge* and *Anvil* lie declin'd,
My *Bellows* too have lost their wind,
My *Fires* extinct, my *Forge* decay'd
And in the *Dust* my *Vice* is laid.
My *Coals* are spent, my *Irons* gone,
My *Nails* are drove, my *Work* is done.

Close to this will be found a stone bearing the "Afflictions Sore" doggerel, beloved of our forefathers.

The **Interior** is simple and dignified, and in no way fails to realise the high expectations which the interior of the church has led us to form. The **Nave** is Perpendicular and of seven bays. The large size of the windows of the clerestory produces a very striking effect of lightness, though the flimsiness characteristic of the interior of Trinity Church, Hull, is avoided, and the absence of a triforum is in no way felt. The carved corbels should be noticed. The roof is of panelled wood and is nearly flat, the squares being painted blue, with gilt stars. A restoration of this part of the interior of the church was brought to a conclusion in 1876, when the old alderman's pew (which had on it the inscription relating to the fall of the tower, already noted) and the galleries were cleared away. In spite of the fact that they had some good carving, they were unsightly, and their disappearance has increased the beauty of the church. A very interesting fact is proved by the inscriptions on the arches and pillars of the nave arcade. The work was paid for by particular individuals, families, or guilds, some giving a pier, some an arch, while others made more considerable contributions. On the north side, fronting the nave (commencing at the west end) at the terminations of the hood-moulds of the arches, are angels bearing shields thus inscribed :

1. XLAY (=Croslay)
2. And hys wyfe made thes
3. to pyllors and Ahalffe (a half).

4. Thes to pyllors made gud
5. Wyffys God reward thaym.
6. Thys pyllor made the meynstrels.

Fronting the north aisle the inscriptions read:

6. Orate pro animabus proHysteriorum.
4. } These are defaced and partly illegible.
5. }
3. Orate pro animabus
2. Johis Croslay Mercatoris
1. Et Johanne uxoris ejus.

The **Minstrels' Pillar** (No 6) has its capital adorned with very curious figures of minstrels, including a piper, lute player, drummer, violinist, and harpist. The instruments are very much mutilated, and in some cases have disappeared altogether. Poulson gives the following description of this remarkable carving:—"The centre minstrel, from his dress, appears to be the alderman; he is dressed in a tight jacket of a tawny colour, with a blue belt round his body, over which is a loose coat of the same colour, open in front and extending to the knees, the sleeves of which reach down to the waist; there is a yellow chain round the neck, and he appears to be playing on a harp, which is greatly injured; the colour of the harp is blue; the hair is long and flowing down to the shoulders, but has no hat or pouch; the stockings brown, and shoes red. On his right is one playing on a violin, but much defaced; he has only a tight jacket, and a broad, flat belt, having a large pouch on the right side, with two yellow tassels appended; a chain round the neck, but the sleeves of the jacket reach only below the elbow. The second to the right is a drummer; his dress is similar to the last, but has affixed to the chain round his neck a badge of a blue colour, which rests on his left breast; he holds the drum in his left hand and the stick in his right. On the left of the alderman is one playing on a lute, or guitar, with five strings; there is nothing different in the dress, except, instead of a belt, a cord of a yellow colour tied round the body, with two large tassels and a pouch hanging on the left side; the hair is straight and long. The next on the left is a piper; his hair is long and curled; his jacket tight; round the body a cord, from which a small pouch is suspended on the

right side, but without any tassels. The following are the original colours in which they were painted, before they were disfigured with the present colouring:—The belt, tassels, and badges, blue; chains, yellow pouches, blue; stockings, black or brown; shirt-wrist, white or buff; viol, blue; harp, blue; pipes, brown; and the hair, black." The Guild of Minstrels seems to have existed in Beverley from the time of Æthelstan, and to have been very prosperous in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for frequent reference is made to it in documents relating to the town. An "Order of the Ancient Company or Fraternity of Minstralls in Beverley" contains a series of regulations made for the brotherhood, by "Oure moste virtuous sovereige lorde and lady, Kyng Philip and Queen Marye."

From a Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]
S. Mary's. The Minstrels' Pillar.

The west window and the aisle windows on either side of it are filled with glass, designed by A. W. Pugin and E. W. Pugin, and manufactured by Hardman. On each side of the Decorated west door is a niche with a finely carved pedestal. Above the door is a sculptured lion and dragon. The dark marble **Font** resembles that in the minster, and is octangular in shape, and, although it is dated 1530, is Decorated in character. It took the

place of an older font which was probably destroyed in part by the fall of the tower of the church. It bears the inscription: "Pray for the soules of Wyllm Ferefaxe, draper, and his wyvis which made thys font of his pper costes, the day of March v., yere of Our Lord, MDXXX." A full-page illlus-

From a Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]
S. MARY'S. THE INTERIOR.

tration of it is given in *Beverlac*. Like so many of the decorations in this church, it has suffered considerable mutilation. The handsome modern pulpit was designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, and was presented to the church by the late Town-clerk of Beverley. The basement is of Mansfield stone, the lower moulding being of red Italian marble. The body of the font is of Derbyshire alabaster, inlaid with marble of various

colours. Devonshire spar and Irish marble are also used, and these costly materials are combined with good effect. Some of the sculptural details are copied from the Percy Shrine in the minster. The pulpit takes rank among Sir Gilbert Scott's best works. On the nave floor will be found a stone, dated 1532, with an incised cross and an inscription to Robert Burton. The stained glass in the windows in the walls of the aisles dates for the most part between 1870 and 1880, and is neither better nor worse than the average of that period.

The **Chancel** and **Transepts** are earlier than the nave, and are the most interesting part of the church from the architectural standpoint. The chancel has side aisles, and is of five bays; the arches are Decorated, and may be assigned to the earlier period of the style. In the spandrels are circles enclosing elaborate trefoiled ornaments. The fourth bay on the north side is distinguished from the others by the possession of a very beautiful niche, with a remarkably fine canopy and richly-carved pedestal. This bay, it may be noted, is the subject of a full-page illustration in Rickman's *Gothic Architecture*. It will at once be noticed that much more decoration has been lavished on the north side of the chancel than on the south, which consequently looks somewhat bare in comparison. The clerestory of the choir and the great east window of five principal lights are Perpendicular. The latter was filled with stained glass dealing with scenes in the life of Christ, by Clayton & Bell, in 1867. The choir, like the nave, has a ceiling of panelled wood which is nearly flat, and is dated 1445. On the forty panels into which it is divided are painted imaginary portraits of the kings of England, the earliest of them being Brutus (a legendary monarch, described by Geoffrey of Monmouth as king in the year 1108 B.C.), and the latest, Edward IV. These paintings, which are not in chronological order, were restored some time ago, by William Padget of Beverley. Each figure has a label with an inscription, which generally contains a strange mixture of fact and fiction. The ancient chancel screen, an admirable work of the kind, has recently been carefully repaired by Elwell of Beverley, under the supervision of Mr John Bilson, and adds greatly to the beauty of the church. The choir was rearranged in 1876. Some of the original Perpendicular stalls, which have carved misericords, similar to those in the minster, but are without canopies, have

been retained after careful repair. In 1881, a reredos of carved oak, designed by Mr J. O. Scott and executed by Elwell, was placed in position. In the centre panel is a painted representation of the Last Supper, on either side of which are figures of the Evangelists. The cost of the reredos amounted to £500. The south aisle of the choir is in the Decorated style, and has a flat ceiling of painted wood. According to Gent, the panels of this roof were once decorated with scenes from the life of S. Catherine, to whom the aisle was formerly dedicated as a chapel. The north aisle is very much more interesting than the south, and is, in fact, the part of the church which will best repay careful study. Though in the same style as the south aisle, it is very much more profusely ornamented. The three bays to the east, which were once used as a chapel, are divided by an arch from those to the west, and have a remarkable groined stone roof, of which Poulson says: "In the eastern part of the north aisle there is a groined roof, and it has a very curious appearance from the mode in which the ribs spring from the piers, and cross each other as they rise upwards. The ribs which form the groins of the roof unite on the north side in a cluster at the impost, and are continued down the pier, forming with it one unbroken line, being destitute of impost, mouldings, or capital; but on the opposite side they all enter into rings, without appearing below them. They do not spring, as is usual, from the same circumference of one circle, but are distributed; the arrangement produces this singular effect, that the ribs upon the south side cross each other, whereas those on the north side diverge uniformly, a contrast which is extremely curious. The mouldings of these groins are highly indented and characteristic; their strongly marked indentures produce a great effect in the crossings, and upon the north side all the mouldings, except the most prominent, coincide and disappear in the body of the column, the upper fillet and mouldings of each groin only appearing, and producing by their assemblage, a set of flutes not unlike those of a Corinthian column. The diagonal arch is a complete semicircle. The windows of this part of the aisle, which there can be little doubt was originally intended for a chapel, are Decorated, and the eastern one has a very fine effect." The vaulting of the western part of this aisle, though it seems to be of about the same date as the rest, differs from it in more ways than

one. It does not possess the exquisite bosses of carved foliage which are a beautiful feature of the eastern part. The flowing tracery of the east window is of an extremely elaborate pattern. In 1877, it was filled with glass by Clayton & Bell, in memory of the time during which the Hon. and Rev. E. Carr Glyn was

From a Photo by Wilfrid Groom.]
S. MARY'S. THE NORTH SIDE OF THE CHOIR.

vicar of the parish. In the wall below the window is a good piscina. A low arch from this aisle leads to a small chapel or chantry, which is traditionally known as the Flemish Chapel. It is possible that this chapel, which in style, details of decoration, and in date resembles the north aisle, may have been built by Flemish workmen. A staircase at the north-east angle of the chancel leads to two priest's rooms over the aisle

and the so-called Flemish Chapel. The staircase is a splendid piece of workmanship of its kind, and is unlike the prevailing workmanship of the Beverley churches. A tradition has it that these rooms were built as places of storage by London merchants, who attended the once important fairs at Beverley. There is no evidence in support of this, and it is not probable.

The **Transept** was rebuilt in the Perpendicular style, but an immense quantity of old materials were used. The south arm has a side aisle, and Gent supposes it may have been the chantry of S. Michael. The tracery of the south window is Decorated, but the jambs are Perpendicular. Dog-tooth and zig-zag patterns are found in the arches, which rest on Perpendicular pillars. This is explained by the working up of the material of an earlier structure. The ceiling of the north arm (which is signed "W. Hal Carpenter mad thys Rowffe") was restored by Mr Brodrick, who added some of the decorative details. In the north arm of the transept is the organ, the case of which was designed by Sir Gilbert Scott. The instrument has cost over £1700, and is constantly being improved. In various parts of the church will be found monuments to the Wartons, and others, in the Queen Anne style, which, seeking to be imposing by expense, succeed in being monstrously ugly. Drake, the York historian, is buried here, but his tombstone has disappeared. Underneath the south-east part of the church is a crypt, now partly walled up.

The parish registers and churchwarden's accounts are interesting. Poulson states that at the commencement of the register of S. Mary's parish are the following lines:—

RULES FOR MARRIAGE, THE TIME, ETC.

when Advent comes do thou refraine
till Hilary sett ye free againe
next Septuagessima saith the nay
but when Lowe Sunday comes thou may
yet at Rogation thou must tarrie
till Trinitie shall bid the mary.

Nov. 25th, 1641.

The register seems to have served as a sort of diary, kept partly in cypher, for the clergyman whose duty it was to make the entries. Thus we read:

Aug. 1642. King's war hot in the west, m3 s4re thr4at2

(= mi sore throate) E-gl1-d's d2str5ct34-l44kt f4r (= England's destruction look't for).

From other extracts we find that this vicar was a very ardent Cromwellian, and he seems also to have been a schoolmaster, for, in the midst of his records of the doings of the Civil War, he describes himself as "in great want of scollirs." The churchwarden's accounts, which begin in 1593, have also some curious entries, of which the following will serve as examples :

1593. Paid the 29th daie of M'ch to Jo Peckett for a fox and her cubbes, according to the statute, xij^{d}.

1642 (16th July). For ringing when the king came from Newark, iiij^{s} viiij^{d}.

Paid to Jas. Johnson for killing three owles in Woodhall, Closes, that he did steadfastly affirme them to belong to this church, xviij^{d}.

1646. Paid John Pearson for catching three urchants (hedgehogs), vj^{d}.

1650 (Jan. 17). Painting the commonwealth's arms in the church, ij^{li} j^{s}.

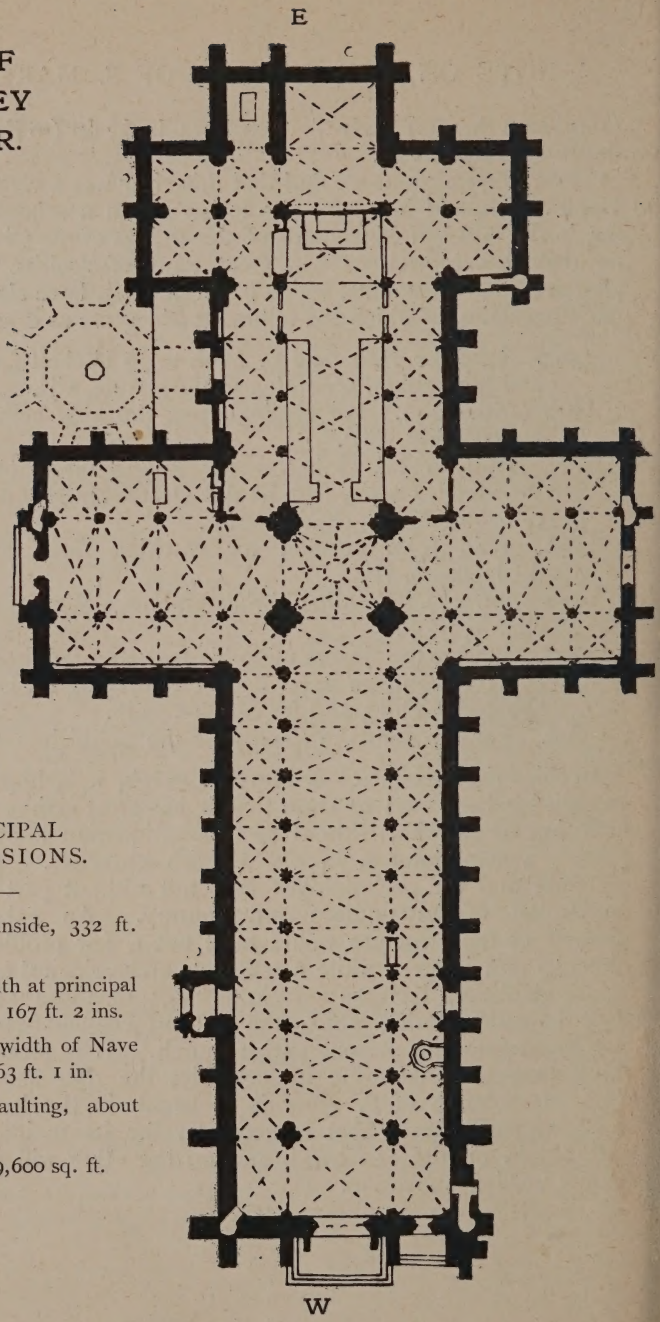
1668. Paid to the ringers upon his majesties landing, xj^{s}.

1687. To the ringers upon day of rejoyceing for her ma^{tie} being with child, and for candles, j^{li} ij^{s}.

1698. For two quarts of Canary for the archbishop, v^{s}.

In this brief account of S. Mary's Church, it is hoped that enough has been said to show that it has great claims on the attention of all who, without special antiquarian knowledge, take a general interest in old English churches. To the architect and the ecclesiologist it is not without part of the fascination of an undiscovered country. An exhaustive analysis of the structure would raise not a few problems of difficulty and interest, while a complete archæological account would doubtless increase our knowledge of those crowded days of strife during which the ancient chapel-of-ease was developed into the present parish church. It is pleasant to think that, after enduring for centuries the rude shocks of time, the church of S. Mary is at length in the hands of those who will do all that is necessary for its maintenance and repair, on the one hand, and on the other will protect it from unwise innovation.

PLAN OF BEVERLEY MINSTER.



PRINCIPAL DIMENSIONS.

Total length inside, 332 ft. 6 ins.

Extreme breadth at principal intersection, 167 ft. 2 ins.

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